

POST-SECONDARY EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY FOR THE ONTARIO INDIAN POPULATION

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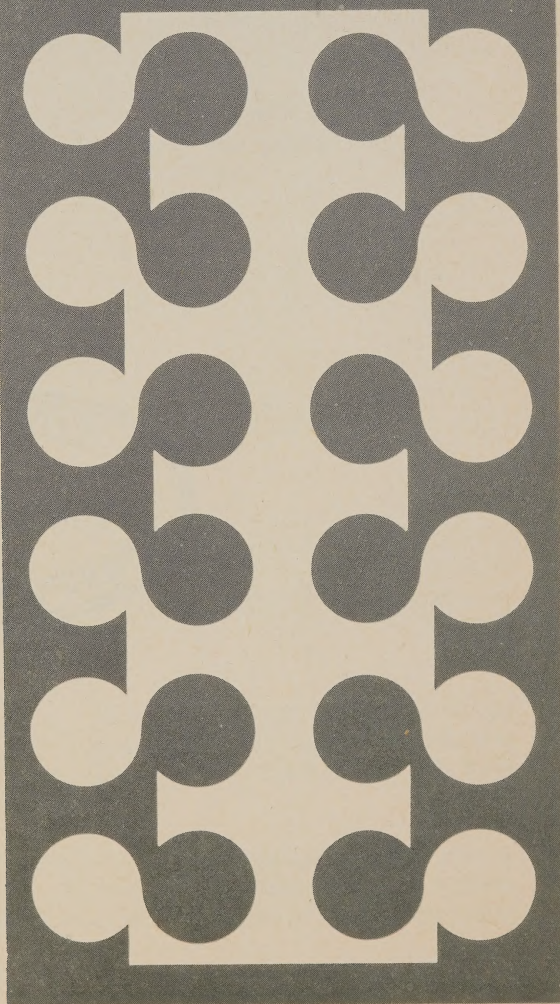
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POST-SECONDARY EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY FOR THE ONTARIO INDIAN POPULATION

A Study Prepared for the Commission
on Post-Secondary Education in Ontario



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of the
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Post-Secondary Educational Opportunity for the Ontario Indian Population

Editorial Foreword

The Commission on Post-Secondary Education in Ontario was required by its terms of reference "to consider, in the light of present provisions for university and other post-secondary education in Ontario, the pattern necessary to ensure the further effective development of post-secondary education in the province during the period to 1980, and in general terms to 1990, and to make recommendations thereon." Particular matters to which the Commission's attention were directed included "the educational and cultural needs of students to be met at the post-secondary level in Ontario", along with "the type, nature and role of the institutions required to meet the educational needs of the Province", and "the costs, allocation of resources and methods of financing for post-secondary education in Ontario as related to the attainment of equality of educational opportunity and as related to the resources of the Province."

The Commission noted in its *Statement of Issues* that "one of the main issues of post-secondary education has been its use as an instrument of social justice." (See *Post-Secondary Education in Ontario: A Statement of Issues*, page 7.) Consequently, as we also noted there, equality of educational opportunity has come to be regarded as a social good with the result that "one of the chief challenges facing post-secondary education is universal accessibility", meaning simply that "all those who are able, can profit from, and wish to have post-secondary education and training, should have access to such institutions." In the most general terms, this issue of accessibility has been considered in those parts of the Commission's *Draft Report*, and also in several of its published background studies, relating to the matter of financing. In particular, the Commission's background studies on *Financing* and *The Economics of Post-Secondary Education* have surveyed those aspects of the accessibility issue that appear to be most directly related to the economic (and to a lesser extent the social) backgrounds of potential students. Several smaller studies prepared internally for the Commission have gathered information about adult and other continuing education programs in Ontario which also bear upon this topic.

During the course of its work the Commission identified two particular groups in the province for whom accessibility to post-secondary educational opportunities appeared to pose problems of a special order of magnitude: the Francophone population and the native Indian population. Both of these have been subjects of special background studies which the Commission has had prepared, one of which is being published here.

The purpose of the present study was to attempt to determine the needs of the Ontario Indian population for post-secondary education and to assess the relevance and adequacy of present institutional facilities, programs, and practices to fulfil these needs now and in the foreseeable future.

In conceiving of and attempting to award a contract for a background paper on this topic, the Commission confronted a dilemma. To the extent that such a study would have to refer to the educational needs and aspirations of the Ontario Indian

population, it appeared obvious that members of the Indian population should be entrusted with this task. This appeared to imply, however, that the study would itself constitute a major policy document reflecting the wishes of Ontario Indians. Unfortunately, the Commission had neither the time nor the resources available to sponsor such a major undertaking. Nor did our preliminary investigations reveal the availability of an individual or organization with the capability of speaking for the Indian population of the province as a whole on this subject. At the same time, it became evident that, in the absence of any organized body of information on the topic, discussion of the policy issues relating to it would be unproductive. Therefore, it was decided to commission a limited study to assemble statistical information about the Indian population in relation to its educational situation, to organize the relevant background information, and to survey some of the policy options which might fruitfully be investigated more fully in the future. A contract to carry out such a study was awarded to Environics Research Group in July 1971 and was carried out by a research team with experience in research on Indian affairs, headed by Dr. J. W. Berry of Queen's University, Kingston. Dr. Berry is the author of a large number of papers and scholarly articles in the field of social psychology, many dealing with the native minorities in Canada. Prior to joining the faculty at Queen's University he taught at the University of Edinburgh and at the University of Sydney. From 1969 to the present he has served on the Interim Research Committee, doing field work among the Coastal Crees of James Bay. Consultant for this study was Professor Harvey McCue of the Indian-Eskimo Studies Programme at Trent University, author of *The Only Good Indian*.

Subject to the limitations already referred to, and to the points made by the authors in their own preface, the Commission is making this study available in the hope that it will provide a foundation for discussion and debate, not only within those circles traditionally associated with the development of educational policy, but also in the larger Ontario community and the Indian population itself.

The paper published here confirms the complexity of the issues involved in this subject, indicates the severity of the problem, surveys the available range of empirical data (thereby revealing its inadequacy), and indicates in particular how part of the community's problem with respect to this topic is a consequence of the Indian having been so much "researched" but so little understood.

The opinions and conclusions contained in the study proper are solely those of the authors, and publication of the study does not necessarily mean that these opinions and conclusions are endorsed by the Commission.

POST-SECONDARY EDUCATIONAL
OPPORTUNITY FOR THE ONTARIO
INDIAN POPULATION

A Study Prepared For The
Commission on Post-Secondary
Education in Ontario

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December, 1971

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A Note on the Statistical Data

The statistical data used in this report have been taken directly from, or have been re-worked from, material supplied by a special compilation by the Statistical Information Centre, Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development*, Ottawa, (July, 1971). In the absence of supportive or contrary data, these are assumed to provide a reasonably accurate characterization of the status-Indian population of Canada. Occasionally, when data are derived from other sources, this will be indicated; otherwise, all references are to this special compilation, for which no further or more precise referral will be made.

* Hereafter referred to as "Department of Indian Affairs".

INTRODUCTION

A. SOCIAL and POLITICAL CONSIDERATIONS

"We will steer our own canoe, but
we will invite others to help with
the paddling."

Ernest Benedict,
The North American Indian
Travelling College, 1970

This study in no way presumes to speak for the Indian people of Ontario; only they can speak for themselves. However, in keeping with the "support role" envisaged by Ernest Benedict (and now espoused by the Indian Eskimo Association of Canada), we venture to provide some limited background and statistical information, and to explore some options, for use both by the Commission and the Government of Ontario, and by the Indian people* of this Province.

Similarly, this study will not presume to campaign for a particular set of cultural goals or the educational steps necessary to attain them, even though much of the evidence assembled here will clearly point in a particular direction. Once again, it is maintained that the Indian people themselves must choose their own goals, opt for the most suitable

* In this study, the term "Indian" refers to all persons of Amerindian descent who wish to be known by that name, whether Status or non-Status (see footnote, page 34).

path to lead them there, and then campaign strenuously for them. We hope that this study will help to clarify the possible goals and paths, so that all people concerned may meet, discuss, and resolve these complex issues.

The reason why non-Indians should refrain from making decisions for the Indians is obvious: we are not trusted. Thus, even the most well-intentioned commentators, with the best-researched and well-founded proposals (neither of which the present authors claim), are doomed to charges of bad faith prompted by a long history of non-Indian duplicity (or ignorance) in dealing with Indian peoples.

Indeed, at the outset of this project such concern was expressed by a number of Indian persons who were interviewed. To understand the background to this lack of trust, the interested reader need only consult recent Indian writings (eg., Cardinal, 1970, or Waubageshig, 1970, see bibliography), and reflect on the fate of the recent proposed Indian Policy of the federal Department of Indian Affairs.

In June 1969, the Department of Indian Affairs presented to Parliament a document entitled "Statement of the Government of Canada on Indian Policy, 1969". The events surrounding its presentation are generally known, but it is worthwhile to examine them to demonstrate the volatility and sensitivity of the political situation between Indians and non-Indians in this country.

First, it should be noted that the proposals were not a "White Paper"; they were at a far lower level, and were explicitly presented to foster "consultation, negotiation, give and take" (page 5). However, this flexible posture was betrayed or at least rendered questionable, by at least two aspects of the document:

Policy Statement Wording. The degree of commitment of the government to the policy as presented may be judged by these two quotations:

"In the pages which follow, the Government has outlined a number of measures and a policy which it is convinced will offer another road for Indians...."

(italics added) (page 5.)

"Indian people must be persuaded, must persuade themselves, that this path will lead them to a fuller and richer life."

(italics added) (page 5.)

Timing of the Statement. A series of 17 "Consultations" led up to the presentation of the policy statement. Indian leaders entered into these talks with the belief that the new policy would grow out of them, or at least take them into account. However, the statement was presented only a few weeks after the last act of consultation, in polished language and a tastefully modern graphical layout; Indian people immediately cried "sham".

The actual contents of the policy statement are not of present concern, since it has now been shelved and is not operative. However, the content of the policy has not been entirely rejected (indeed in many respects it is a progressive document), only the slick method of presentation. In sum, the Indian view was that the policy statement was "prepared unilaterally" (page 5 of National Indian Brotherhood Response, 1969), without significant Indian input; this was sufficient reason for its rejection.

There are good scientific, as well as political reasons to ensure a major role for Indian peoples in decision making about their future. By and large, only Indians have a first-hand knowledge of both the Indian and non-Indian worlds; in any study of relations between these two groups it would be inappropriate to ignore their expertise. Further, by and large, it is only Indians who have a deep (as opposed to a purely academic) understanding of Indian life; to ignore this wealth of knowledge would also be scientifically unsound.

We may conclude that unless the Indian people play a major and responsible role in deciding their future position in this country, any proposals relating to this position will meet with virtually automatic rejection. Nevertheless, refusal to undertake this study would merely serve to

perpetuate an extremely disturbing situation, while assembling these data and opinions may serve to motivate the more comprehensive and intensive stocktaking so frequently demanded by Indian leaders and educators.

Further, we believe strongly that Indian peoples should have reasonable options in their education, which could lead them to psychologically and culturally satisfying, as well as to socially and economically satisfying, goals. Without wishing to press a particular point of view onto the issues, we believe that we have been able to emphasize judiciously the psycho-cultural dimension to these problems so that it may be seen as equally important with the socio-economic dimension. For both these reasons we have presumed to prepare this study.

B. THEMES and PROPOSALS EMERGING from the STUDY

Over the broad scope of this study, a few central themes emerge, and from time to time specific conclusions are drawn from the various detailed analyses; this section brings these together to provide an overview. For each, textual references are indicated so that the elaboration of the point may be located.

A single proposal is offered for consideration by the Commission, and hopefully, by the Indian people of this province; the loneliness of this proposal does not reflect lack of commitment on the part of the authors, but is dictated by our stated belief that the Indian people alone have the responsibility and the right to propose major changes affecting their people. Nevertheless, the moderate weight of evidence in the study does clearly point their search in a particular direction, and this "preferred model" is elaborated in some detail.

1. THEMES and CONCLUSIONS

At least six major themes emerge from this study, and each derives from a number of separate observations.

a) The Complexity of the Issues

- (i) The Indian people of Canada and Ontario are a heterogeneous group, cut by cultural and acculturational divisions (section C. 1. a) and

b) and Tables 2, 3, 5 and 6). Any action to change the present situation will only be an improvement if it is flexible enough to meet the needs of this diverse population.

(ii) Further, the Indian people of Canada and Ontario are cut by a legal distinction of the federal government: status, and non-status (footnote, page 34). Non-Indians have served to further divide an already heterogeneous population.

As a function of these two sets of divisions (one cultural and one legal), there are likely to be widely varying opinions within the Indian population regarding a solution or solutions to the problems of education. Most importantly, agreement on the relative mix of Indian and non-Indian elements in education will probably be seriously complicated by these distinctions. Where the "balance of danger" (pages 107 & 137-138) should settle between discrimination and assimilation would probably not be answered at all uninformly throughout the province. However, a resolution to this dilemma, satisfactory to the Indian people, is necessary before educational options and models can be decided by them.

(iii) In many jurisdictions, it has been accepted that continuity in language and culture between home, school, and nation is a prerequisite for the education of ethnic groups (see section c. 2). Major discontinuities exist among the Indian educational options; these must be reduced or eliminated if formal education is to contribute more to the growth of the child than it takes away. Instruction which is culturally and linguistically appropriate must be provided, preferably by Indian teachers, at least at the early primary level; culturally supportive counselling, preferably by Indian counsellors, must be available throughout the child's educational career if the present turbulence is to be eliminated.

(iv) At the post-secondary level, so few Indian students reach university and Indian courses are of such recent vintage that it is difficult to assess the relative attractiveness of regular university courses and Indian studies programs (Section C. 2 (c) (iv)). This new dimension to an already complex situation merits close attention over the next decade.

b) The Severity of the Problem

(i) Large numbers of Indian students do not participate in the educational process past the primary level; this is a severe wastage of human resources from both their point of view and that of the non-Indians (Table 15).

(ii) Indian population is growing at a rate more than 2 1/2 times that of the non-Indian population (Table 3). The present problem can only become more severe if nothing is done.

(iii) The monetary costs of providing educational services to Indian people has increased drastically in the past few years (Table 8). At the same time, these benefits have not been particularly well received; they appear to be getting more and more of the same approach.

(iv) Welfare is a severe problem. Dependency is difficult for anyone, be he Indian or non-Indian, but it is particularly so when the probability is low that it will end soon with useful employment. The educational and occupational characteristics of the Indian population are such that severe employment problems exist. (Section C. 1 (b)).

c) Scarcity of Descriptive Empirical Data

We are not in a good position to answer many questions. Statistical data are lacking on educational and occupational levels in the Indian population. Attrition rates can only be estimated from incomplete data. The whole of the non-status Indian population has been ignored statistically, and there is no really accurate way to estimate its dimensions. All of these contribute to a sketchy knowledge of the Indian people; whatever information we do possess, however, confirms the complexity and severity of the situation.

d) Minimal Information from the Indian People of the Province

One reason we may know so little is that we have not listened; we hear, though, that the Indian is over-researched but he remains little understood. Without a major communications effort on the part of Indian people, and without a major listening effort on the part of non-Indians, we may remain ignorant of their views. It should be pointed out that such an effort would be culturally uncharacteristic of Indian people and socially uncharacteristic of non-Indian people: traditionally, Canadian Indians have tended to

reticence, preferring informational and emotional containment to release; on the other hand, a socially dominant group forgets how to listen to the less powerful group. Communication is a social process; it requires at least two people. When they speak, we must listen; when we ask, they should tell.

e) The De Facto Responsibility of the Province

Although the federal government and the provincial governments agree that Indian education is the responsibility of the federal Department of Indian Affairs, there is a clear policy of transferring Indian students from federal to provincial schools (section C. 3 (b) and Table 10). The de facto responsibility for providing acceptable solutions (page 138), and in sufficient quantity for a rapidly increasing population (Table 16), rests squarely with the province. The federal government may continue to provide the financing, but the province must provide a suitable education.

f) The Unitary Nature of Education

No significant change can be made at any level of education without taking account of the nature of the prior education. Few Indian students

complete secondary school (Table 15); to examine the "post-secondary educational opportunity for the Ontario Indian population" without a thorough study of their earlier educational opportunity and success would thus be very unprofitable.

2. A PROPOSAL

Given the six themes which have been presented, it is clear that no single solution can be proposed at this time, especially when the Indian people have had so little input into this study. Nevertheless, it is clear that the whole educational situation is disturbing, that it will become increasingly so, and that in the end it is the Government of Ontario which will have to provide the solutions.

Thus, a single proposal is offered to the Commission:

THAT THE COMMISSION ON POST-SECONDARY EDUCATION
URGE THE GOVERNMENT OF ONTARIO TO MEET WITH
REPRESENTATIVE INDIAN GROUPS AND INDIVIDUALS
IN THE PROVINCE, TO ESTABLISH A BOARD OF ENQUIRY
INTO THE ISSUES AND PROBLEMS OF INDIAN EDUCATION
AT ALL LEVELS, PRE-SCHOOL, PRIMARY, SECONDARY
AND POST-SECONDARY.

It is implied that the provincial government should financially support such an enquiry, that it should be carried out largely by the Indian peoples themselves, and that the government should make a moral commitment to deal

seriously with the findings of such an enquiry. At a minimum the "representative groups" would have to include the Union of Ontario Indians, the Association of Iroquois and Allied Indians, and the Ontario Metis and Non-Status Indian Association, as well as the Indian educators associated with the Indian-Eskimo Studies Program at Trent University, and the Nishnawbe Institute in Toronto. Further, since educational and cultural issues are so entwined for ethnic groups, the term "education" should not be interpreted narrowly; rather, such an enquiry might extend to a stocktaking of the social and cultural positions of the Indian people of Ontario, the goals they wish to pursue, and the paths (educational processes) they wish to follow in that pursuit.

3. A PREFERRED MODEL

At various points in the study, the possibility of an Indian educational system is implied. At first glance such a system might appear unnecessary, illegal, and costly; however, each of these objections may be countered without difficulty.

It is clear that Indian peoples have not responded positively to our efforts to provide an "education"; most do not pass beyond primary school, and only a handful enter university. Moreover, there is evidence of severe emotional stress, adolescent deviance and poor motivation to succeed

in the educational system provided. It has been argued that low cultural level or personal inability are unsupportable arguments to account for the lack of participation of Indian students in this system. Experience in other countries demonstrates that where there is linguistic and cultural continuity between family life, school, and nation, most of these problems disappear. It is thus inappropriate to argue that an educational system reflecting Indian cultures is not necessary; such a system is required if we value psychologically and culturally healthy human beings over misfits in our social and economic system.

The increasing acceptance of pluralism by the federal government (see page 21) can be legally extended to the Indian population. Indeed, they should be the first to benefit from such a policy, on a basis of common sense, if not on a basis of aboriginal right.

Finally, the spiralling costs of the present system (Table 8) suggest that an Indian educational system may not make any greater drain on public finances (\$85 million in 1970) than exist now. In the absence of cost details, however, the argument must rest with this probabilistic assertion.

In sum, it is possible to argue that an Indian educational system is necessary, is consistent with our law and pluralist ideology, and may not cost more than the present system

which is so ineffective. What form might such a system take? Pattern number 1 in Table 1 (and Model 1 on page 27) indicate the broad features of the system. It is characterized by a retention of ethnic identity as Indians, a control over the educational institutions by Indians, and an agreement on the part of Indian peoples to work for mutual national goals (social and economic) along with the larger society. Since cultural integrity is maintained, this model may be termed "integration", but should be carefully distinguished from the current policy of the same name promoted by the Department of Indian Affairs (see page 124 policy 1).

The content of such a system at the primary level might be predominantly Indian, but with sufficient introduction of Euro-Canadian cultural elements to allow for an Indian contribution in later life to shared social and economic goals; this latter content should be maintained below the level where it begins to produce the linguistic and cultural discontinuities responsible for the problems in the present system.

At the secondary level, Indian elements would be maintained, but in a lower proportion, to allow the introduction of skills necessary for the participation, if desired, in Euro-Canadian society. On the other hand a more traditional stream might be retained for those who prefer it. Clear regional preferences would be expected here; the system should therefore be flexible enough to cater to these diverse needs.

At the post-secondary level, the system would approximate the model in cell 4 (pages 103 and 104), where predominantly Indian institutions or Indian sections of regular post-secondary institutions provide courses for Indian students. Alternatively the student could opt for a program in cell 3, where regular institutions pay particular attention to the educational needs of Indian students.

We thus may conceive of an educational system which provides psychological and cultural support to the Indian student, while allowing him entry into social and economic life of the larger society, if he so desires. Emphatically, such a system should only be given serious attention if sufficient numbers of Indian students and their parents wish to participate in it. However, such a system has sufficient merit to bring it to the attention of Indian peoples. Indeed, it is the preferred option, given the evidence assembled in this study.

ANALYTICAL and EMPIRICAL DESCRIPTION

A. CULTURAL CONTEXT of the STUDY

1. The Modern Indian and His Traditional Cultural Context

It is a truism to say that the Indian peoples of North and South America were fully functioning socio-cultural entities prior to European contact. Current approaches to anthropology do not allow one to place relative value on "civilization" or "primitive culture", nor even to easily assert "levels" of cultures. Styles of group behaviour are as complex and as integrated as they seemingly need to be as a result of their ecological and historical contexts. We thus cannot attribute the present plight of the Indian peoples, in their confrontation with our cultural system, to cultural backwardness or to personal inability. All that we can assert is that their present situation is a complex phenomenon stemming from the interaction of their cultural background and our cultural intrusion, with its overwhelming population and powerful technology.

A significant element of any culture is the process by which the young of the group become fully functioning members of the society. This process of socialization (or enculturation) always includes some deliberate

instruction, and in many societies becomes formalized into a system of education. Although this formalization was not the case in traditional Indian life, there can be little doubt that the concept of, and process of, instruction for adult life existed as an integral part of the traditional culture of these people. We cannot, then, look upon the educational process as something which is alien to them; it is merely our formal education which is so.

Further, there can be little doubt that individuals living in traditional Indian communities were capable people; they possessed recognizable intellectual strengths (and weaknesses) and a set of personal and emotional characteristics. We cannot, then, look upon the present-day Indian person as an empty organism to be filled with our personal and cultural preferences for certain values and skills; he exists as someone culturally quite different from ourselves.

In summary, the Indian we know today possesses a complex set of cultural, educational, and personal characteristics which make him a unique person: he must not be viewed as an object into which our educational system may place its social and cultural values at will. The apparent disorientation of Indian individuals and groups stems largely from our intrusion into their way of life, that is, from the often turbulent process known as acculturation.

2. The Forces of Acculturation Bringing About Social and Personal Change

When two cultural groups come into contact, each absorbs behavioural characteristics of the other; this is the process of mutual acculturation. However, the usual situation typically involves two groups possessing unequal power; in this case, the weaker (in terms of numbers, technology or isolation from a major world culture) usually absorbs much more of the stronger group's culture than vice versa.

In the last two centuries, this process of acculturation has frequently involved Asian, African, Oceanic and American indigenes being confronted with representatives of Western European culture. Particularly among North American peoples this process has had strong effects and has probably gone furthest. In the present age, many agents of acculturation are at work: economic activity (traders, wage employment), religious activity, government services (education, welfare), media (radio, TV, magazines), and the persistent process of urbanization which is a function of all of these agents.

In general, cultural and psychological patterns of the acculturating group are known to move in the direction of those found in the dominant group. However, there is a

disruptive change also occurring, and it is so noticeable that it frequently obscures the more general drift of cultural and behavioural patterns toward the dominant norm. Many social scientists have attempted to describe and analyze its many manifestations using such concepts as "marginality", "alienation", "deviance", and "revitalization".

If the process of acculturation only involved fairly stable change, then it would cause much less concern, and many of the ideological problems (for example - who changes and how far?) would be more easily negotiated. However, with the presence of the more turbulent change and the resultant high rate of deliberate social intrusion (police, special laws, penitentiaries, welfare), the process of acculturation becomes extremely complex, costly and demoralizing for both groups.

3. The Contribution of Education to Acculturation

Education must be viewed as part of the overall process of acculturation; in isolation it can be too easily seen as a panacea for all the other problems. Moreover, education itself can be viewed as a problem by the minority group, for of all the agents of acculturation mentioned previously, only education has a unique place among the agents bringing about acculturation, if only because of its forced presence. But it is a major contributor for other reasons as well: it almost always requires a language change,

it very often requires a change in values and goals, and it radically alters the kinds of knowledge and skills valued and sought by the youth of the Indian people.

A second point emerges, specifically in the context of Canadian social ideology of cultural pluralism. This pluralist approach to the structure of Canadian society has long been taken for granted, but only in October 1971 (in response to Book IV of the Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism) was cultural pluralism formally adopted as a social model by the federal government. Briefly, the government announced that although there were two official languages, there were to be no official cultures; they further announced a series of policies to encourage the maintenance of ethnic diversity in Canada, whenever ethnic groups wished to retain their identity and cultural integrity.

However, even prior to these general policies, the federal government had articulated a pluralist ideology specifically regarding Indian peoples. The first was contained in the proposed Indian Policy (see Bibliography) of 1969; the value placed on the retention of Indian cultural characteristics, and the acceptance of these by non-Indian Canadians, was clearly indicated (pp. 8-9). A more recent statement (1971) by Jean Chrétien, the Minister of Indian Affairs may be quoted:

Canada has never aspired to become a cultural melting pot where all our natural differences are rendered down to a common denominator. Rather, we have sought to keep the cultural contributions of each group of people strong and vibrant so that everyone may see that we are a *mélange* of distinctive peoples - not a blend which hides the characteristics of those who make it up.

Canadian culture is a tapestry endlessly weaving, showing in its separate strands the colours of those who make it up. In the early days the Indian colours were plain for all to see. At that time the Indian people generously showed the newcomers the ways of the land and shared their knowledge of it. But for many years those colours have been submerged and hidden from sight.

It is time they again took their place in the unfinished tapestry of the Canadian culture.

A reborn culture will revive the strengths of the past and burgeon in creativity for the future. This cultural treasure will grow and develop for no art stands still. The great store of dancing, legends, rituals, folklore,

the visual arts and the rhythms which mean so much to many Indian people are waiting to be rediscovered by the rest of the Indian community and recognized by Canadians.

The Canadian people as a whole cannot restore the Indian culture. Only the Indian people can do that. But unless Canadians recognize it and honour it and give it a place in the Canadian tapestry, we shall all be the losers.

Given this clear espousal of cultural pluralism by the federal government, we may now ask, "What right has the government of a society which espouses cultural pluralism to force the process of acculturation through the agent of education?" If the goal of pluralism is sincere, then the answer can only be that there is no right to intrude our culture (language, values or skills) into the culture of the Indian peoples. They may, in fact, wish to acquire facility in our way of life in order only to have access to the technology and material wealth of the 20th century, while retaining most Indian characteristics; or they may wish to accept lower industrial skill levels with its consequent lower economic return. This should be their decision, not ours, and education should suit their goals, not ours. Only extensive searching by and among the Indians

themselves will provide answers, and even then individuals or groups may opt for different educational paths.

4. The Special Position of Post-Secondary Education
in the Acculturation Process

Post-secondary education may be separated from general education because it is largely voluntary, (on the part of the applicant) even though it may be quite restrictive (on the part of the educational institution). Thus, contrary to being forced to take on the culture of the dominant group (as in compulsory primary and secondary education), individuals may be restricted in their attempts to do so at the post-secondary level. This is more than merely ironic; it has powerful human impact. When the dominant group has changed a member of the acculturating group to the extent that he may now wish to extend or complete the process, the rules are changed and the aspiring student may be rejected. When the individual has virtually lost all contact with the language, values, and skills of his own group, he may be told that he does not meet the criteria of his adopted world.

B. ANALYSIS of the EDUCATIONAL DILEMMA

Possible solutions to this educational dilemma should be viewed again in the larger socio-cultural context. The position of being caught between two cultural systems is known as the "marginal situation" and is frequently accompanied by a set of behavioural dispositions known as the "marginal personality". To use the original phrase of Stonequist (1937, page 8), the individual is "poised in psychological uncertainty" between two worlds, and manifests attitudinal ambivalence, withdrawal and, very often, aggression manifested in deviance from the norms of both cultural groups. Resolutions of this position can logically (and psychologically) take two directions: the dominant society can liberalize and make room for the marginal individual in the hope that he will become assimilated and lose his marginality (and traditional culture); or the individuals in the minority group can "swing about and reaffirm" their traditional cultural position and ethnic identity.

Two other changes frequently accompany this phenomenon of reaffirmation: one is the request (or demand) by the minority ethnic group to control the institutions which most directly affect them; the other is the necessity to choose between remaining within the larger society to work for mutual goals, or of replacing these goals with the group's own culturally specific ones.

In many respects these three characteristics form a Guttman scale. That is, each characteristic often necessarily precedes the presence of each subsequent characteristic. If there is no ethnic uniqueness with retained ethnic identity, then there is no separate group to maintain institutional control, and the issue of mutual goals shared with the larger society cannot arise. If there is ethnic uniqueness, but no control over institutions, then there is likely to be reluctance to contribute to the larger society, unless forced to do so. This inherent patterning contributes to the low probability that certain combinations will ever arise.

Minority ethnic groups are rarely in a position to make a simple 'yes' or 'no' decision on each of these three issues. Nevertheless, it is useful to analyze possible resolutions of the marginal dilemma in terms of patterns of response (on the part of the minority group) or permission (on the part of the majority group). Table 1 displays these patterns:

TABLE 1

Patterns of Choice of Minority
Ethnic Groups on Three Basic Issues

Retain Identity	Institutional Control	Contribute to Larger Society	Pattern Number
Yes	Yes	Yes	1
		No	2
	No	Yes	3
		No	4
No	Yes	Yes	5
		No	6
	No	Yes	7
		No	8

Each pattern may be described in general social terms for Canadian Indian people:

1. The choice here is to remain an Indian (in identity and perhaps culture) and to take over control of major institutions now affecting his life (religion, education, welfare); however, there is agreement to

work with the dominant group(s) for major national goals (economic, social). This pattern is defined here as "integration" (not to be confused with the current "integration" program in schools: see page 124, # 1).

2. This choice is identical to # 1, except that there is no agreement to work with the dominant group; rather, there is a rejection of its assistance or demands. This pattern is defined here as "rejection" or "self-segregation".
3. This choice involves no control over institutions; since it is characterized by identity retention, this lack of control is more likely a function of the dominant group's wish to withhold it rather than the Indians' wish not to assume it. Nevertheless, in this pattern, Indians still opt to work with the larger society for mutual goals. In many ways this pattern describes the present situation in Canada.
4. This choice involves a retention of ethnic identity, but no institutional control nor interest in contributing to mutual goals. If each of these is due to force on the part of the dominant group, then this pattern may be defined as a form of "segregation".

5. This choice involves loss of ethnic identity but retention of institutional control and agreement on mutual goals.
6. This choice involves loss of ethnic identity but retention of institutional control while rejecting mutual goals. Both patterns # 5 and # 6 are inherently contradictory and are not readily applicable to the problem.
7. The choice here is no ethnic identity, no institutional control, but acceptance of mutual goals. Since there is no ethnic uniqueness here, these goals are likely to be simply those of the dominant group. This pattern is defined here as "assimilation".
8. This choice is identical to # 7, except that there is no agreement to work for the goals of the dominant group. This pattern is characteristic of "deculturated" groups, those who have dropped out of any socio-cultural system.

These patterns of choice may be used to provide models of educational systems at primary, secondary, and post-secondary levels. Using the above numbers, these models are:

1. In this system, Indian students would retain or regain their ethnic identity, and the Indian group would have control over the goals, content, and values of the educational system. Since this pattern opts for a role of contributor to mutual national goals (economic or social), the system should provide sufficient Euro-Canadian content to allow for social and economic contributions from graduates to the national life of the country. Students would be in a position to mesh socio-economically with the larger society while retaining their psychological and cultural integrity.

At the post-secondary level, institutions could be set up with the assistance of the dominant group. These would have entrance standards and curricula designed to allow participation in the larger society, while retaining and developing those cultural attributes the Indian groups value.

2. In this system, since there is no contribution envisaged from the Indian groups, the larger society would not likely contribute to its development or maintenance. The traditional forms of education (goals and curricula) would be sought.
3. In this system students would retain or regain their ethnic identity, but the community would have no (or little) control over the system. Nevertheless, mutual goals would be encouraged through the educational

control of the dominant group.

At the post-secondary level, there may be a liberalizing of entry requirements or curricula to make a gesture consistent with our pluralist ideology. But no control over the educational institution is allowed; the system remains solidly in the hands of the dominant group and is devoted largely to their goals.

4. In this system, if it could exist at all, ethnic identity is retained but there is no institutional control by Indian groups nor agreement on mutual goals. If all three elements of the system were forced by the dominant group (segregation), it would be contrary to the Bill of Rights; if a free choice by Indian people, it might not be viable.
5. and 6. Both of these are inherently contradictory; no educational system would be viable.
7. In this educational system, ethnic identity would be lost and there would be, consequently, no need for separate institutional control or unique cultural goals. This would represent a monolithic educational system, standard for all ethnic groups, and would be contrary to our present practice in Canada, and contrary to our ideology of pluralism. The possibility exists, however, of extending very large (English or French) educational systems to

Indian groups which would achieve assimilation of Indians into one of the two components of our dualism; this would also be contrary to our pluralist ideology.

8. This last pattern represents socio-cultural disintegration and does not require an educational system to transmit it. It differs from # 7 only in that the Indian groups no longer opt for mutual goals; this single difference separates a system which the government may be in danger of imposing (assimilation), from the social disintegration which is so costly and unpleasant for both groups.

These eight patterns are considered to be the realm of possible educational systems, given the existence of the three phenomena of acculturation. Aspects of these will be referred to again in the later sections of the study in the light of the statistical and descriptive data to follow.

C. EMPIRICAL DESCRIPTION

1. The Canadian Indian: Socio-Cultural and Demographic Situation

(a) The Canadian Context

With its great variation in climate and associated economic bases for life, Canada has nurtured a wide variety of cultural adaptations among Indian populations. Agriculture was possible mainly in the south where the Iroquois settled into semi-permanent villages and developed a complex social and political structure. On the West Coast, stable supplies of fish also permitted relatively permanent villages with complex structure. However, in the mid-north and northern regions the population was relatively migratory, frequently with yearly cycles of migration patterned closely upon their economic pursuits. In these groups, social influences tended to be less pervasive, with a complementary increase in independent and self-reliant behaviour on the part of the smaller groups. With these traditional variations in cultural and psychological characteristics, it is no wonder that the present Indian situation is very complex. Indeed, there may very well prove to be sufficient variations among the group, misnamed collectively as "Indian", to stop working on the basis of cultural homogeneity, and begin to work on the basis of culture areas or of other local groupings.

Further, there are now great differences among Indian peoples as a result of differential degrees of culture contact; generally those in the south have been changed greatly by Euro-Canadian life, while those in the north have yet to undergo acculturation in a major way. We must thus conceive of Indian socio-cultural diversity on two relatively independent dimensions, and even allow for the possibility that traditional life style and degree of contact may interact to produce even more complex responses to our cultural intrusion.

Further still, the federal government has artificially divided Indian peoples into two groups: status and non-status peoples. The former are the responsibility of the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, while the latter are largely ignored, having no official status as Indians. Estimates usually put the numbers of non-status Indians to be equal to status Indians--about a quarter of a million each in 1970 in Canada.*

* The use of the term "Indian" is fraught with many problems. For the federal government, the term is legally limited to those who are "registered as an Indian or is entitled to be registered as an Indian" (Indian Act 2:g, 1951). The term "status" is usually applied to all persons who have legal status as Indians; the term "non-status" is usually applied to those persons who claim, either on a cultural or racial basis, to be Indians, but who do not have the legal right to be registered. The three main reasons for non-registration are:

We are thus faced with a traditionally, culturally complex people, further segmented by acculturation and legal dimensions. It is not possible to classify the half million Indians according to these variables; the best that can be achieved is to display population statistics for status Indians by cultural groups, and then by provinces for a 50-year period (see Tables 2 and 3).

-
- (i) because of mixed ancestry or mixed marriage, which excludes certain categories of persons from registration.
 - (ii) because the individual or his male ancestor gave up his "status" for monetary or political privileges.
 - (iii) because treaties have not been signed or other formal arrangements for registration have not been made.

In this study the term "Indian" will refer to both "status" and "non-status" persons, unless it is qualified by either term. This is in keeping with an ethnic definition of a group of people sharing a more or less similar way of life, and also conforms to the common usage of the term "Indian".

Since no demographic statistics have been kept, and since the problem of definition is so great, there can be no accurate estimate of the non-status Indian population. However, the conventional view is that the non-status population approximates the status Indian population.

TABLE 2

Canadian Status-Indian Cultural
Groups and Population, (1969)*

<u>Linguistic Group</u>	<u>Main Culture Groups</u>	<u>Location in Canada</u>	<u>Population 1969</u>
Algonkian	Cree, Ojibway	North East	153,594
Athapaskan	Chipewyan, Carrier, Slave	North West	22,657
Haida	Haida	Queen Charlotte Islands, B.C.	1,367
Iroquoian	Iroquois, Huron	St. Lawrence Lowlands	22,304
Kootenayan	Kootenayan	Rocky Mts.	446
Salishan	Cowichan, Shuswap	British Columbia	20,989
Siouan	Dakota, Assiniboine	Prairies	6,212
Tlingit	Tagish	North B.C.	491
Tsimshian	Tsimshian	North B.C.	7,730
Wakashan	Nootka	Coastal B.C.	8,217
TOTAL			244,007

* From "Linguistic and Cultural Affiliations of Canadian Indian Bands", Department of Indian Affairs, 1970.
Pages 41 - 42.

TABLE 3

Canadian Status Indians: Population Growth by Province Over Past 50 Years

Province	<u>1924</u>	<u>1934</u>	<u>1944</u>	<u>1954</u>	<u>1964</u>	<u>1970</u>	<u>1975*</u>	<u>1978*</u>
P.E.I.	315	224	266	272	376	435	491	521
Nova Scotia	1,827	2,093	2,364	3,002	3,994	4,652	4,719	5,008
New Brunswick	1,606	1,734	2,047	2,629	3,717	4,423	4,692	4,979
Quebec	13,191	13,281	15,194	17,574	23,709	27,671	29,244	31,034
Ontario	26,706	30,631	32,421	37,255	48,465	55,342	56,742	60,216
Manitoba	11,673	12,958	15,933	19,684	28,833	35,658	40,619	43,106
Saskatchewan	10,271	11,878	14,158	18,750	28,914	36,326	42,311	44,901
Alberta	8,990	10,900	12,441	15,715	23,642	29,051	33,363	35,406
British Columbia	24,316	23,598	25,515	31,086	42,141	48,250	50,631	52,863
Yukon	1,456	1,359	1,531	1,568	2,215	2,500	3,055	3,242
N.W.T.	4,543	3,854	3,816	4,023	5,383	6,474	6,956	7,382
Canada Total	<u>104,894</u>	<u>112,510</u>	<u>125,686</u>	<u>151,558</u>	<u>211,389</u>	<u>250,782</u>	<u>272,823</u>	<u>288,658</u>

Status Indian Growth Rates

	<u>%</u>
1959	3.4
1960	3.4
1961	3.5
1962	3.4
1963	3.3
1964	3.2
1965	3.2
1966	2.8
1967	3.0
1968	2.8

* projected at 2.8% per annum

It can be seen in Table 2 that although there is great diversity, there is also a strong concentration of Indians in a single linguistic group inhabiting a single culture area; about 60 per cent of all Canadian Indians speak an Algonkian language. Further, another 25 per cent can be accounted for by three more linguistic groups (Athapaskan, Iroquoian and Salishan), while the balance (except for 6,000 Siouan speakers) reside in British Columbia.

The growth of the status-Indian population over the years has been remarkable; from a high of 120,000 in the 1890s, population dropped to under 100,000 in 1900 and then began its steady increase (see Table 3).

It can easily be seen that the natural increase is extremely high (reducing from 3.4 to 2.8 per cent per annum over the last 10 years) in comparison to the non-Indian Canadian rate (now 1 per cent per annum). In 50 years the status-Indian population has more than doubled, even without significant immigration, with the greatest growth (between 350 and 400 per cent) in Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta, while the growth rate has been slightly more than 200 per cent in Quebec and Ontario.

Recent statistics show that the overall death rate is not strikingly different for status Indians and non-Indians (although life expectancy is noticeably lower for the former), but that birth and infant mortality rates are still much higher than for non-Indians.

TABLE 4

a) Comparative Death, Infant Mortality, and Birth Rates:
Status Indians and Non-Indians

Year	Death Rate/ 1000		Infant Mortality /1000 Live Births		Birth Rate /1000	
	Status Indian	Non- Indian	Status Indian	Non- Indian	Status Indian	Non- Indian
1966	8.74	7.5	51.0	23.1	40.4	19.4
1967	8.42	7.4	51.1	22.0	39.4	18.2
1968	8.64	7.4	45.9	20.8	38.6	17.6

b) Comparative Life Expectancy: Status Indians and
Non-Indians, (1969)

	<u>Status Indian</u>	<u>Non- Indian</u>
Males	61.8	69.0
Females	67.0	75.5

The indices for Indians in Table 4 a) are typical of the patterns found in "developing" countries in Central America and in Africa. One further statistic confirms this shared pattern; more than 45 per cent of the population is under the age of 15, with no sign of a decline in this proportion in recent years (a fairly constant

46 per cent from 1963 to 1970). It can only be assumed that a similar pattern exists for non-status Indians as well.

A major phenomenon of Indian demography is the drift toward the cities. Two studies have examined this process: Nagler (1970) and the "Indians in the City" project of McCue (continuing). Data from Nagler* shows that the Indian population in a sample of (non-Ontario) Canadian cities rose from 1,350 to about 4,500 over the period 1951 to 1961, and in a sample of Ontario cities from 1,600 to 5,300 over the same period. In both cases, this is an increase of between 300 and 400 per cent, whereas the general Indian population rose less than 50 per cent in that period. The rate of migration to the cities is thus tripling the urban Indian population in a decade. More recent data are not available, but it is unlikely that this rate of urbanization has declined.

This brief cultural and demographic overview has attempted to show that the Indians of Canada have a complex cultural past and present and, from an analysis of population trends, should increase steadily in number. Whether they continue to have a viable future, culturally as well as numerically, depends to a large extent upon non-Indian response to mutual problems.

* Table 1, page 27.

(b) The Ontario Context

We have already seen that Ontario has the largest status-Indian population of any province (55,000), accounting for about 22 per cent of the national total in 1970. This has gradually been reduced however from 25 per cent fifty years ago and may continue to decline proportionately.

There are no birth, death, or infant mortality rates available for Ontario status Indians alone, nor are there any statistics available to indicate the formal educational levels attained. Occupational data obtained in a survey by Hawthorn and Tremblay (1966) suggest that about half of those who are working are in traditionally oriented work (forestry, trapping, gathering) with the other half in newer occupations (farming, clerical, skilled and unskilled or casual wage employment). Of those in the latter category, half (27 per cent of those working) were unskilled or casual workers; that is, about three-quarters of their status-Indian sample are carrying out jobs requiring very little education. Moreover many were not working at all; only 29 per cent worked more than nine months in a year, 11 per cent worked from six to nine months, and 61 per cent worked less than six months.

These unemployment and under-employment data are consistent with the welfare support reported by the Department of Indian Affairs. In 1969 about 12,000 (23 per cent) Ontario status Indians received welfare assistance for various reasons. In 1968, per-capita welfare costs for status Indians in Ontario were \$33, which was the lowest for Indians in Canada (costs ranged up to \$145 per-capita for the Maritimes and Saskatchewan), but was almost twice as much as the non-Indian per-capita cost in Ontario - \$18. However, other non-Indian per-capita costs approached the Ontario Indian figure (\$26 in Quebec, \$24 in Alberta). The pattern to emerge from these data is not a healthy one, even though Ontario status Indians appear to be less in need of assistance than those in other regions. Combined with the generally recognized (but as yet statistically unsupported) low level of formal educational and newer occupational attainment, these figures indicate that the situation requires urgent attention.

The distribution of the status-Indian population in Ontario is displayed in Table 5.

TABLE 5Ontario Status-Indian Population Geographical Distribution(1970)

<u>District</u>	<u>Number of Bands*</u>	<u>Population</u>	<u>Predominant Language Groups</u>
1. Sioux Lookout	15	10,482	Ojibway, Cree
2. Kenora	13	2,859	Ojibway
3. Lakehead	13	3,903	Ojibway, Cree
4. Sudbury	15	4,548	Ojibway, Cree
5. Manitoulin	6	4,050	Ojibway, Ottawa
6. Georgian Bay	11	3,768	Ojibway
7. London	8	6,273	Ojibway, Iroquois
8. Brantford	2	9,226	Iroquois, Ojibway
9. Kingston	7	6,572	Iroquois, Ojibway
10. James Bay	5	3,764	Cree, Ojibway
	<u>95</u>	<u>55,445</u>	

Geographic Groupings

North (1, 2, 3, 10)	46	21,008	Ojibway, Cree
Mid-North (4, 5, 6)	32	12,366	Ojibway
South (7, 8, 9)	17	22,071	Iroquois, Ojibway
		<u>55,445</u>	

* A "band" is a group of Indian persons settled in a particular area (similar to "village" or "township").

When the 10 districts used by the Department of Indian Affairs are grouped into north, mid-north and south areas, we find that about 40 per cent live in the north; these are relatively untouched by Euro-Canadian life. They are mostly scattered in small bands (average of 450 persons) over an extremely large area (2/3 of the province); however, seven of the 46 bands have a population of 1,000 or more. About 20 per cent of the status-Indian population lives in the mid-north, in bands averaging 400 persons each, some with high culture contact and some still relatively unacculturated. They are concentrated in a much smaller area and only one band has over 1,000 persons in it. The balance (40 per cent) of the population is in the south, mostly living in close proximity to urban centres; they are much larger bands (average of 1,300 persons); there are six bands of over 1,000 persons of which three are over 2,000 and one is over 8,000 persons (Six Nations).

These demographic patterns are consistent with traditional distribution, where low population density in the north was an adaptation to the economic base (hunting, gathering) and higher density in the south was made possible through the use of agriculture. These patterns are also consistent with the distribution of non-Indians in the province.

Although there are no data for non-status Indians in the province of Ontario, we may estimate, using the conventional ratio, that there are approximately 55,000 - a number equal to the status-Indian population. However, it is unlikely that their distribution is similar to that of the status Indians; relatively few live in the north (although there is a sizeable group at Moose Factory), while most probably live in the south.

Our very rough estimate for the combined regional distribution is given in Table 6.

TABLE 6

Ontario Status- and Non-Status-Indian Population Regional
Distribution - (1970)

Region	Status	Non-Status	Total
North	21,000	1,000	22,000
Mid-North	12,000	10,000	22,000
South	22,000	44,000	66,000
Total	55,000	55,000	110,000

From these estimates it may be seen that the majority of Indians of Ontario live in the south (60 per cent) and would have experienced a relatively high degree of

acculturation. Approximately equal numbers (20 per cent each) live in the mid-north and northern areas where acculturation is moderate to low.

Culturally, only two groups are represented in Ontario, the Algonkian (mainly Cree and Ojibway) with about 40,000 persons in 90 bands, and Iroquois with about 16,000 persons in four bands. Present settlement patterns are consistent with their traditional ones, the Algonkian speakers being spread in relatively small bands (average 450 persons) over the whole of the province (except in the extreme southeast), and the Iroquois speakers being densely settled in a small area with an average of 4,000 persons per band.

When the Ontario status-Indian population is examined by age and sex categories (Table 7), three characteristics are apparent. First, there is a rapid decrease in 5-year totals down the columns, which may be accounted for only by death (since the birth rate has not increased in recent years). Secondly, there is a consistently higher proportion of men than women, most noticeable in the over-20 age groups; this is probably due to the fact that until October, 1971, Indian women lost their legal status as Indians when they married non-Indians*, whereas this is not true of male status Indians. However, non-Indian females marrying status Indians may gain legal status as Indians

* Pending review by the Supreme Court of Canada.

through marriage, but it is apparent that this second trend does not make up for the first. Thus we may infer that more status-Indian females marry non-Indians, than do status-Indian males. Finally, we may note that the proportion of status Indians aged 14 and under in Ontario is only 40 per cent of the total Ontario status-Indian population, compared to 46 per cent for all status Indians in Canada (see pages 39 and 40); this may indicate a levelling-off trend which should be monitored over the next generation.

TABLE 7

Ontario Status-Indian Population

Age and Sex Distribution (1969)

<u>AGE (years)</u>	<u>MALE</u>	<u>FEMALE</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
0 to 4	3,573	3,527	7,100
5 to 9	3,965	3,854	7,819
10 to 14	3,547	3,486	7,033
15 to 19	2,862	2,801	5,663
20 to 24	2,540	2,328	4,868
25 to 29	1,951	1,809	3,760
30 to 34	1,600	1,451	3,051
35 to 39	1,356	1,242	2,598
40 to 44	1,215	1,108	2,323
45 to 49	1,005	1,042	2,047
50 to 54	905	851	1,756
55 to 59	843	745	1,588
60 to 64	699	594	1,293
65 to 69	543	467	1,010
70 to 74	387	331	718
75 to 79	259	251	510
80 and over	284	252	536

In summary, we may say that the status-Indian demographic pattern in Ontario approximates that of the rest of the status-Indian population of Canada. However, two differences seem to be important: there is a large proportion of traditionally sedentary persons living in close proximity to major urban centres, and there appears to be a more stable pattern emerging from the "under 15" population statistic. It is possible, of course, that these two differences are intimately related.

2. Foreign and Innovative Approaches to Aboriginal Education

(a) Introduction

Canada is not alone in having to seek solutions to the problems of education in a multicultural nation. Many other countries have faced the issues; some have solved them to the satisfaction of the ethnic minorities, some are still seeking solutions, and some have "solved" them by simply smothering the various ethnic groups with a dominant national or imported educational system.

In some countries, British or French educational models and content have been adopted virtually in their original forms; secondary-school graduation and certificates often remain under the influence of the once-colonizing nation (eg., Fiji) or are unattuned to aboriginal needs, (eg., Australia). At the other extreme, innovative educational systems are being developed, based on the ethnic group's traditional values and goals, but with sufficient newer content to allow the ethnic group's participation in, and contribution to, national life (eg., Sweden). In between, some have attempted to use the national system of education for ethnic minorities, but with some variation for local cultural diversity (eg., U.S.S.R.). In all cases, what has been attempted has been very much a function of what resources were

available, in terms of teachers from the ethnic group and the wealth of the country, either from national sources or from foreign aid. It also has been very much a function of the degree to which the dominant culture is willing to tolerate ethnic diversity, and the degree to which the minority ethnic group has demanded support for retention of its own cultural characteristics.

The material to follow has been gleaned mainly from reports delivered in Montreal in 1969 to a "Conference on Cross-Cultural Education in the North", organized by the Arctic Institute of North America. Material on the U.S.A., Australia and New Zealand comes from a variety of sources. The major issues usually confronted in each paper are the nature of pre-school, primary, secondary and post-secondary educational needs of ethnic groups, the special training teachers may need to work with these ethnic minorities (including ethnic group membership), and the need for special programs or educational systems to meet the educational needs of the various ethnic minorities.

(b) Foreign Approaches, particularly in
Northern Countries

(i) Greenland (from The Pedagogical Situation in Greenland, B. Gunther, 1969).

Early educational activities in Greenland were closely connected with missionary work starting in 1721. Reading

and writing were taught as a means of spreading biblical knowledge; the greatest advantage of this program, however, was that before it could be begun, Greenlandic (Eskimo) had to be made into a literary language. Then, as now, it was felt important that Greenlandic education be based on native teaching, but the early situation, which still exists today, was that there simply were not enough native teachers to go around, and Danish teachers had to be imported. Although the first Greenland teachers' training colleges were not established until 1847, less than ten years later almost the entire population was literate, indicating the success of the earlier educational endeavours.

Not until 1950 was legislation enacted severing the church's affiliation with education. A regular Board of Education was established and the teaching of the Danish language became very centrally placed, although Greenlandic was still the official language of instruction until grade 4.

In recent years, the two official languages of Greenland - Greenlandic and Danish - have posed severe problems for the education system. It is strongly felt that Greenlandic must be kept up: first, to maintain and support native cultural ties; and second, because Danish is so different, children cannot receive instruction in this language immediately with any degree of efficacy. However, the increase in the school-age population has been and will continue to be dramatic for the next 15 years and there

are simply not enough natives choosing teaching as a career. Teachers have been imported from Denmark, but they have little or no familiarity with the native language, creating a difficult situation; it is not only the language courses themselves but all other subjects being taught as well which will suffer from the lack of Greenlandic-speaking - if not bilingual - teachers. In 1968 - 1969, for example, the number of Greenlandic speaking teachers was less than one-third of the total number of teachers. The demand for teachers in Greenland is twice as great per 1,000 inhabitants as in Denmark where, for many years there has been a serious shortage of teachers. In 1970, native teachers comprised only 13 per cent of the teaching staff. One suggested solution has been to train Greenlandic-speaking tutors from the native population who would aid regular teachers.

It is considered absolutely necessary to secure for the pupils contact with Greenlandic-speaking teachers from their first day at school in order to reduce their academic difficulties and to facilitate co-operation between home and school. However, it is up to parents, in consultation with the local school board and with regard for available qualified staff, to determine the extent to which Greenlandic should be taught in the first three years of primary school.

Although Danish teachers are hired from necessity, it is felt that, generally speaking, a considerable part of the instruction is hampered by pupil-teacher communication difficulties. Furthermore, Danish teachers have a professional background based on experiences and ideas alien to native pupils. Added to this problem is the fact that beyond the compulsory seven-year program, secondary schooling lacks facilities to the extent that students wishing to continue their education often must go to Denmark and definitely must go for university and specialized technical training. Education in this alien culture is considered to be a major cause of the high drop-out rates among these secondary and post-secondary students.

In addition, the apparent slowness of Greenlandic pupils compared with the Danish national average is also attributed to linguistic reasons and teaching staff problems. A problem closely linked with the above-mentioned difficulties is the need for textbooks in Greenlandic, suited to the native cultural (ie., linguistic, conceptual, and environmental) background. As such, Danish texts are generally unusable, and although from 1963 to 1968 about 100 textbooks have been published, there is still a great need.

In terms of school management, two parental representatives are elected in each educational centre and there are three representatives on the Education

Committee of each educational district. As well, to maintain links with the outside community, in addition to usual academic subjects, practical skills suited to the major occupation of the local native population are taught, although there is some difficulty with small scattered groups in the north and southwest.

Post-secondary education in wood and metal trades, in office and business practice, in seamanship (Nautical School), in assistant nursing, and for unskilled workers is available in Greenland. There are evening classes in Danish, Greenlandic, arithmetic, and social and practical subjects, etc., for youngsters and adults alike. Finally, there is a Greenlandic folk high school in which instruction is given in ordinary subjects but with the main stress being laid on history, civics, and what falls within the concept of Greenland traditions and culture.

While there is a great strain on the educational program and on facilities presently available to the people of Greenland, the effort is being made to develop a system which will maximize the potential of this native group.

(ii) Scandinavia (from The Pedagogical Situation in the North as Affecting the Lapps in the Northern Parts of Norway, I. Boon; Lapp Schools, Teacher Education and Trans-cultural Studies, I. Ruong, Sweden, 1969).

Norway - Historically, the education of Lapp children consisted mainly of religious instruction with a small amount of reading, writing, and arithmetic. Even so this was resented by parents who felt such schooling interfered with the more important learning of traditional skill patterns - fishing, farming, hunting, and reindeer-breeding. In any event, this small amount of formal schooling was relatively unsatisfactory since the language of instruction was Norwegian, understood neither by parents nor children. Following World War II a decision by the central authorities to upgrade and extend Lapp schooling was met with strong opposition by the Lapps who were convinced that children learned little if anything which was useful to the traditional way of life, particularly reindeer-husbandry. They were also well aware of the inferior attainment of their children relative to that of Norwegian-speaking children such that education did not seem to hold much promise for Lapps outside their traditional occupations. Despite improved physical facilities, the school program was still presented in Norwegian only, based on needs and values of the Norwegian culture and urban society.

Since 1963, changes have been made in accordance with recognition of the fact that successful development and information transmission could only be accomplished by connection with the Lapp language and culture. Lapp is

now the official language of instruction as well as a subject of study, along with Lapp history and culture. In 1969, a "gymnasium" (secondary school) was established, specializing in Lapp language, history, and culture and offering a certificate equivalent to those of other Norwegian secondary schools. As well, a special bilingual course at the Troms teacher training school will prepare teachers for their work in bilingual districts.

Lapps were initially suspicious and reluctant to participate in the new school programs. After many years of exposure to the official attitude that the Lapp language and culture "were worthless, that their Lapp identity was an undesirable one, it was not quite so simple for the Lapps to understand that it now suddenly was alright to be a Lapp" (Boon, page 3).

Slowly, mistrust and misunderstanding dissipated as Lapp children improved their academic standing and appeared enthusiastic about school after the introduction of the mother-tongue method. Norwegian is only used for daily half-hour oral exercises.

As natural resources are presently stretched to their limits and are rapidly diminishing with the increased population of those Lapps engaged in agriculture, lumbering, and fishing, it is felt that the new program should prepare these children for a living outside the local society and be as general as possible. However, for Lapps mainly

engaged in reindeer husbandry, the major problem is a lack of advanced methods for improving this occupation and making it a truly viable way of life. Thus their children should receive a specific vocational training primarily to prepare them for living inside the local society.

However, there is a pessimistic note. Even with the above special arrangements, Lapp children's performance, though vastly improved, is still well below that of the national Norwegian average. Lapp culture maintains different values and norms from that of the larger society; if a child does well in school, it is likely to cause a rift between himself and his traditionally oriented family, while a child who underachieves cannot hope to find a place in the larger urban society. Thus, for both parents and pupils, school education will often mean making a choice between the local and national society. While this choice may have only minor economic implications, the potential for socio-psychological maladjustment is much greater.

Sweden - Unlike most countries with aboriginal populations, Sweden has provided some sort of culturally-oriented education for its Lapp people since the early 17th century. Through the operation of the earliest school, fourteen Lapp students were able to attend university between 1633 and 1722. In the 18th century, Lapp schools were founded

in major villages. The program was a two-year instruction, mainly in reading and religion, from which students were expected to go out and teach their people. Thus, Swedish Lapps had available a form of education, if primitive, taught by people of native Lappish origin. This form of permanently based education alternated in use and popularity with an ambulatory system - a travelling teacher who lived and taught among the Lapp children, usually affording each child between two and four weeks of schooling per year. Support for this form was based on the feeling that the permanent school drew Lappish children away from the traditional nomadic life, thereby aiding the destruction of the cultural heritage of Lapps.

In 1913, the ambulatory school system became the principal form for nomad schools. However, the extremely low standard of education this provided has led in recent years to the re-establishment of permanent schools, situated in the largest Lapp villages. These are special schools to which hostels are attached and are called nomad schools. The instruction given there has been increasingly adapted to the particular requirements of the Lapps, and has been raised to the same standard as the seven-year Swedish primary school and the nine-year compulsory school. While the course generally follows the national curriculum, instruction is in the Lapp language and there is a special

nomad studies course which relates to the Lapps' specific way of life. Other social subjects also contain material relating to the Lapp culture and community life as does the handicraft program.

Secondary education is co-ordinated with the national program, again with special provision for the Lapp language and culture. In particular, there is preparatory vocational instruction in reindeer breeding which includes an apprenticeship period with the Lapp herders to give students practical experience. Almost 100 per cent of nomad school students take this option, although they are entirely free to pursue ordinary secondary education at nearby schools.

Legislation provides that Lapp parents are to decide, without any interference from authorities, whether they will send their children to a nomad school or the nine-year compulsory school. The complete freedom of parents in this matter is reflected in the Nomad Schooling Bill (1962): "A Lapp is a person who states that he is a Lapp." Thus, the educational system makes it possible for a Lapp child to either pursue his traditional way of life or continue on to the national secondary and post-secondary institutions.

(iii) U.S.S.R. (from *The Development of Education in the Soviet Union's Far North*, A. Danilov; *Training of Teachers for the Far North of the U.S.S.R. in Leningrad*, L. V. Belikov, 1969).

Beginning in 1925, the Soviet government instituted a comprehensive and detailed program of economic, cultural and educational development among the numerous national and ethnic groups of its northern regions. Prior to this time, almost all of this population was isolated and virtually illiterate, with no literature nor any written form of language. With the influx of economic development through modern technology, standards of living and birth rates have increased with a concomitant decline in disease and infant mortality. To take advantage of and in turn further this development, compulsory primary education for everyone in the north, adults and children alike, was instituted in 1930.

While the first school was a boarding school, to reach the more remote nomadic populations, local conditions were accommodated through the introduction of mobile cultural centres designed along the lines of the nomads' own tent homes. These accompanied the nomadic peoples, carrying out political, cultural and educational work among them.

A major feature of the educational program up to the present has been the emphasis on use of the native tongue as the language of instruction particularly in the pre-school and primary grades. Accumulated experience has

shown that it is only on the natural basis of their own language that northern students can successfully learn to master the initial practices of reading, writing, counting, and speaking. To this end, textbooks, literary works, teaching aids, and programs have been published in the native tongues of the northern ethnic groups. This has greatly facilitated the education process and has also provided an incentive for native artists who have gained national acclaim for poetry and prose, thereby contributing to the cultural development of these peoples. After five grades of instruction, Russian is gradually eased into the program to develop bilingualism. It is felt that, as the official national language, it is the main element drawing the native population closer to modern culture and knowledge in an environment of rapid social and technological progress.

While students are taught basic academic skills common to all Soviet education programs, an effort is made to relate both content and technique to the cultural milieu of the people. Pedagogical methods are strongly determined by the particular economic situation, habits, and culture of any one of the native groups. Thus, while the program cannot be called "special education", it nevertheless is carefully adapted to make full use of the local variations.

Since full-scale economic development of the Soviet northland is in progress, and since it is considered advantageous to employ workers familiar with the environment, vocational and polytechnical training at both the secondary and post-secondary levels is carried out in the north and includes traditional skills (livestock breeding, fishing) as well as newer fields - radio technology, electricity, accounting, laboratory research.

Obviously, for such a program to be effective, teacher training must be comprehensive, covering not only the usual areas of knowledge but also including information and skills specific to these northern peoples. Accordingly, an effort is made to have northern natives take teacher training following special plans designed for national pedagogical colleges in the far north. There is in fact, a special Department for the Peoples of the Far North at Hertzen Pedagogical Institute in Leningrad where most teachers receive their training. At present, one quarter of the northern teaching staff is of native extraction. In order to maintain and improve the level of instruction, intensive scientific research in the field of northern education is being carried out by a special group at the Academy of Pedagogical Sciences. Besides the investigation of methodological problems and linguistics peculiar to

northern education, this group compiles programs, primers, textbooks, and teaching aids for native schools.

Cost of this education is borne primarily by the government, which subsidizes native children in pre-school, primary, and secondary education and which pays the full cost of post-secondary education including technical and teacher training. Students are not limited to any particular school but may get their high-school education at "popular" schools open to everyone, professional technical schools, or secondary specialized schools; young people who are working complete their secondary education by a system of night and correspondence courses. The latter is being strongly promoted not only for employed youths but for adults as well. For full-time native students there are at present 600 general education schools in the north and 11 secondary specialized schools, while secondary and specialized training schools in other major Soviet cities are also available.

(iv) Alaska (from The Pedagogical Situation in the North - with Special Reference to Alaska, L.M. Coombs, 1969).

In recent studies it was found that Alaskan native students on the average showed an educational "deficit" throughout their school careers. In one sample they were found to be from one to three years behind the average of

American students as measured by standardized achievement tests. In another study, the native drop-out percentage was shown to be 2.5 times greater than for non-natives; failure among native students was twice that among non-natives. This "deficit" is attributed to three major factors:

(i) The geographical isolation of the native population inhibits cultural contact with the larger American society and its educational amenities, eg., radio, telephone, television, newspapers.

(ii) The necessity for learning English as a second language makes normal school progress difficult where English is the only language of instruction.

(iii) The cultural differences between native society and the majority of other Americans present a large obstacle since pedagogical methodology and course content tend to be geared to the latter's way of life.

Some tentative solutions to the above problems are offered, however. Increased stimulation in the form of audio-visual media, programmed learning, field trips, and learning materials which bridge the familiar with the new must be provided. The development of instructional materials must necessarily include principles of linguistic science in order to effectively teach English as a second language. This program would include special teacher training. While native language instruction might be

desirable, the difficulties in drawing up such a program are seen to provide serious problems. Improved teacher selection and training, especially of more bilingual native teachers, would help mediate culture contact and potential conflict as would improved adult education and community involvement. Finally, to the time of the report (1969), students were not encouraged to take secondary or post-secondary education outside the state, thus slowing up the reduction of the educational "deficit". It is believed that such restrictions must be lifted if Alaska native students are to overcome their current severe educational disadvantage.

(v) Canadian Eskimo

Although the Eskimo in Canada are not a foreign - nor even a greatly culturally disparate group, their situation differs sufficiently from that of the Indian to deserve separate comment.

The basic difference derives from the historical context: there have never been treaties between the Crown and Eskimos, guaranteeing education in return for ceded land. Although administratively the federal government, through the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, controls the life and education of the Eskimo to much the same extent as

that of the Indian people, there appear to have been fewer negative effects of this dependency relationship.

In a recent study, Hobart (1970) has encountered a number of disturbing trends in Eskimo education which are in part a function of the more romantic image in the high north. First, there is a relatively high proportion (27 per cent) of non-Canadians teaching Eskimo children who probably lack a thorough understanding of non-native Canadian life, as well as possessing a minimal awareness of Eskimo life. Moreover, most teachers stay only a short while, providing little benefit from accumulated experience in the north. These teachers are, apparently, all that can be obtained since there are no fully trained Eskimo teachers in Canada. Some experimental programs have begun, though, in 1969-70, and Eskimo class-room assistants are becoming more numerous. Problems of motivation are present, since there is no convenient way for an Eskimo assistant to progress to full teacher status in federal schools.

Eskimo school curricula have been undergoing recent innovation; these programmes include a special arithmetic series, a social studies guide, and language arts, all incorporating locally or culturally relevant material. However, Hobart terms these changes tokenism since money and effort expended on these changes are really very small.

More radical changes have been introduced in Eskimo schools in Arctic Quebec. The first three years of school now take place in Eskimo, thereafter in French or English.

In moves consistent with this language change, instructional materials and teacher recruitment moved in the Eskimo direction. In particular, it was decided that the amount of education possessed by a teacher (for primary grades) was less important than his understanding of the language and culture of the school children, and his sympathy for their growth and problems. Thus, Eskimo youths were selected for an intensive three-month teacher training course, and each summer they return for further training; this seems to have worked well (since many had been assistants previously) but it is still too early to comment on its final success.

In summary, the negative aspects of education (in terms of deculturation and stress) have been less among Eskimo pupils than among Indians, although one would have to be extremely uncritical to say that the Arctic experience has been successful. Nevertheless, recent innovative change, when properly evaluated, may provide a model for Indian education further south.

(vi) Continental United States

(paraphrased from Berry, B., 1968, Chapter 1)

Formal education of Indian groups in the U.S. began, as elsewhere, with missionary activity. Jesuits arrived as early as the late 16th century; their emphasis was on extracting the child from his home and teaching him French

and European academic subjects. Franciscans arrived soon thereafter, and attempted to keep families intact by encouraging village settlement around their schools.

Other, mainly Protestant, denominations also carried out early educational efforts. Most notable was the order of James I in 1617 to build "a college for the children of the Infidels"; however, it was not until 1691 that the College of William and Mary was finally chartered. Other institutions were early founded in Massachusetts and Connecticut, and in New Hampshire, where Dartmouth College was founded for the teaching of Indians. Harvard as well was founded, in part, for the purpose of Indian education.

Despite these very strong attempts to educate Indian students, there was considerable disillusionment as expressed by a contemporary, William Byrd:

Many of the children of our neighboring Indians have been brought up in the College of Williams and Mary. They have been taught to read and write, and have been carefully instructed in the Principles of the Christian Religion until they came to be men. Yet after they return'd home, instead of civilizing and converting the rest, they have immediately Relapt into Infidelity and Barbarism themselves.

Following the U.S. Civil War, the federal government assumed a large role in Indian education, largely due to propagandizing by the humanitarians of the day; their program, like that of the churches, called for "Christianization" and "civilization" as integral components of the education of Indians. By 1870 the federal Congress budgeted \$100,000 for industrial schools and in 1882 legislation was passed converting army forts into Indian schools! In 1890, appropriations were made to cover costs of tuition for Indians attending public schools, and in 1917 all subsidies to religious groups were ended.

The off-reservation boarding school dominated the approach during the inter-war period. Its philosophy included the removal of the students from their homes, strict military discipline, and an emphasis on industrial arts. The basic assumption underlying this system "has always been, and remains, the assimilation of the Indian.... In all the literature on [U.S.] Indian education, the objective is assimilation, implied, or explicit, partial or complete" (Berry, 1968, page 25).

The current situation, with respect to college and university attendance, is a marked improvement over previous years. In 1936, one in 50 Indian high-school graduates entered college, while in 1950, one in six did so; the improvement is assumed to be continuing. Despite this increase, the proportional representation of

non-Indians in colleges and universities was still four times that of Indians, in 1961 (2 per cent of non-Indian and .5 per cent of Indian populations). The actual number of starters, however, is higher than these statistics suggest, since there is a relatively higher drop-out rate for Indians than for non-Indians; one study (in New Mexico in 1958) showed that over a five-year period, 70 per cent dropped out, 20 per cent were still working on their program and only 10 per cent had received their degree. Typical reasons offered to account for these failures include language problems, conflict of values, poor academic preparation, and lack of financial support.

The current approach of the U.S. government remains one of bringing the Indian student into the mainstream of American life; these aims are clearly assimilationist, since there are no references to educational support for cultural retention or for acceptance of these cultural differences by non-Indians. Perhaps because of this strong "melting pot" approach, numerous culturally oriented innovative institutions, in part supported by federal funds, have been developed; these will be described in section C, page 83.

(vii) Australia

Aboriginal education in Australia is described in the following excerpt from a government booklet, The Australian Aborigines, 1967 (pp. 92-99). Since it is an official publication, and does not deal with opposing points of view, some criticisms are provided following the excerpted material:

In the days of 'protection' policies the results of educational work amongst Aboriginal children of all degrees were generally so disheartening that Aborigines were often considered incapable of reaching the same standard as European children. Consequently provision was made for teaching only to little past half-way in the primary school curriculum. In time, however, it became understood that the obstacle was not one of inborn racial disability. The teachers were seldom trained for their work and were generally unaware of the significance of the difference between Aboriginal and European environments, values and goals. A conflict of interests was involved, and also a feeling, or conviction, among part-Aboriginal parents especially, that education did not lead to economic and social opportunity, and therefore was not worth the effort which it required.

Great changes, however, have come about....The cultural and social factors in the learning and teaching process are recognized. The need for trained teachers with an understanding of Aboriginal children's special problems is also recognized. These factors and the teaching problems they pose are of one kind among second and later generation part-Aboriginal children. They are different among those Aboriginal children whose parents' goals, values and thinking are still very largely moulded by the nomadic, food-gathering economy, even though it is no longer practised.

The cultural environment of part-Aborigines especially, in recent years, has been an experience of, on the fringes of, the white man's world, and the immediate future lies in that world. Indeed, they are part of it. Therefore, they attend the general public or independent schools except in very few instances; but in these the curriculum is the normal one for the State and the teachers are from the State teaching service.

Numbers of Aboriginal children on the other hand have not yet moved in any real sense into our Western society and few have gone beyond the fringe. The basic aim of schools, Missions and Government, must be to prepare them for their inevitably deepening contact and association with the modern society which is enveloping them. The world of their grandparents is still very real to them and its values and goals are not those of the white man's world. The latter is external to them; it is intruding into their lives, and for many parents, the school is an artificial tool by which this intrusion is attempted. Thus the teachers have a formidable task even to hold the children's attention.

The experiment of teaching the local Aboriginal language up to Grade III, and then teaching English as a second language is now being made in a few centres. Fundamentally, however, the problem is that the children have to pass from their own to a different philosophy, involving different concepts of time, space, measurement, number, property, competition and ownership. This is a big intellectual challenge. However, each generation

of Aborigines who come in contact with European-type society undoubtedly understands more clearly the implications of the changing situation and the significance of education. In the meantime, in isolated areas where there are large groups of Aborigines, special curricula and teaching methods have had to be developed to meet the needs of this transitional phase.

Aboriginal education is now advancing on four fronts: pre-schools, primary, secondary schools, and adult courses. For some years, pre-schools have been developed as a necessary preliminary to the discipline and teaching of Aborigines in primary schools. In addition, classes can be so conducted that parents become involved in the education process and also learn.

With regard to primary and secondary schools, at the end of 1966 there were 115 special (primary) schools for Aborigines in Australia, 74 of them being run by Government Departments and 41 by Missions. About 9,000 children were attending them. Approximately 7,800 of these were Aborigines and the remainder were Torres Strait Islanders (786) and part-Aborigines (400). An interesting experiment in the Northern Territory

is the use of mobile schools (of which there are 14) to cater for small groups of Aboriginal children on the larger pastoral properties, who number about 300.

Thousands of others, mostly part-Aborigines, attend the general schools. No reliable record of their number is available, but in three regions alone, the figure exceeds 10,000. The total number of Aborigines and part-Aborigines attending secondary schools is known to be at least 2,277, and is probably higher. Comparatively few, however, complete their secondary schooling, although in every State and in the Northern Territory, governments encourage Aboriginal children to remain at secondary school by meeting part or all of the expense involved: books, uniforms, transport, fees (if any) and board.

On the whole, costs are met by awarding bursaries and scholarships in addition to those which are available in open competition and occasionally won by part-Aboriginal children. The recipients of these special bursaries, scholarships or other grants-in-aid are pupils

whom the school headmasters and inspectors think could benefit from secondary education and possibly make a success of it.

Both Government and independent bodies are striving to assist Aboriginal children to make the most of their schooling. These efforts, however, neither begin nor end with secondary education. Thus, if there are no local primary schools, assistance is provided by the Aboriginal Departments to accommodate the children in Government or Mission hostels, a system well developed in Western Australia and the Northern Territory.

The third element in the education front is concerned with post-school training and adult education generally. At present seven part-Aborigines are university students, and they are assisted by Aboriginal Departments, by Scholarships from the National Union of Australian University students (N.U.A.U.S.) and by gifts made to some Universities for this purpose. A number of Aborigines and part-Aborigines are studying at teachers' and technological colleges; some young women are training as kindergarten teachers, as nurses and as nursing aides. Apprenticeships are encouraged, and when

necessary subsidized. In Queensland nine young people received subsidies in 1966. In that year seven Aborigines from the Northern Territory completed a welding course. They were employed as welding assistants by private firms during the day, and attended evening classes at the Central Technical College in Brisbane.

Post school training for skilled trades and professions is essential but the work of general adult education in aspects of citizenship is equally important. For example, the Western Australian Education and Native Welfare Departments in 1964-65 began a series of experimental projects. By June, 1965 they had enrolled 116 in adult classes, and a year later, nearly 500 were attending night classes in literacy, art and social studies. Similarly in New South Wales in 1963, a committee representative of the Welfare Board, the Department of Education and the Department of Tutorial Classes of the University of Sydney began an experimental scheme of Aboriginal adult education. This has now become an integral function of the University Department of Adult Education, working with the support of the

Welfare Board. Classes have been organized successfully in some skills, but mainly in aspects of citizenship. Successful leadership training courses have been held and instruction given in the conduct of meetings and in the responsibilities of office-bearers. Such education, it is hoped, will help Aborigines to play their part effectively in the life of the general community.

This fairly attractive picture has been seriously questioned by Aboriginal leaders in Australia, and by a university student organization (ABSCHOL). The number of Aborigines in high schools in the Northern Territory is very low (eight students in 1969) and the monetary support policy for students wishing to pursue higher education falls well short of needs. For this reason, the voluntary and private efforts of ABSCHOL have been welcomed by Aboriginal leaders. In 1968 there were only two Aboriginal university graduates and less than 20 Aboriginal teachers in the whole country. This shortage of teachers sympathetic to Aboriginal ways has been partially solved by special teachers' courses at ASOPA (Australian School of Pacific Administration); however, the bulk of teaching of Aboriginal children is carried out by "bonded" teachers, who have not applied for, and have no wish to, teach these children.

In summary, for an assimilationist society where education is a deliberate means of bringing different ethnic groups into a "similar manner and standard of living to that of other Australians", (Commonwealth of Australia, 1967, page 20), the progress of Aboriginal education has been far from successful.

(viii) New Zealand

This country has espoused a policy of cultural dualism which allows for the merging and mutual fertilizing of Maori and non-Maori cultures, while at the same time encouraging the cultural integrity of both peoples.

Maori people (225,000 persons) make up about 10 per cent of the population with a further 1 per cent of other Polynesians. Growth of this population was negative (i.e., declined) until about 1900 (due mainly to the introduction of disease) but has been characterized since then by a healthy resurgence, averaging about 2.0 per cent annual growth and increasing to 3.8 per cent during the last decade.

Recent changes in cultural strength of the Maori people can be associated with the establishment in 1962 of the N.Z. Maori Council. A similar body, the N.Z. Education Foundation, has paid particular attention to their educational needs. Despite far-sighted acceptance of integration as a cultural model, the Maori people were in an unfavoured position, both economically and socially, and these bodies have helped to remedy this situation.

One characteristic of Maori education is the increasing numbers attending regular state schools and the resultant decline in (mainly rural) Maori schools. In 1968, 85 per cent of Maori children in schools were in state schools (57,000 children) and this process will be hastened by the recent transfer (1969) of all remaining Maori schools to local education boards. Although Maori schools previously had a strong local or Maori flavour, their syllabuses were basically the same as non-Maori schools. Since there is increasing Maori content in all state curricula, this change has not been culturally disastrous for the Maori people. Although all teaching is done in English, Maori language is a common option for study, as is Maori history and culture; there is even a current debate on the desirability of having Maori taught, as a compulsory school subject, to all New Zealand students. At the university level, Maori studies may be pursued to the Master's level, and many non-Maori people take this course.

The N.Z. government (1970) describes the work of the Foundation as follows:

The Maori Education Foundation has done much to assist Maori students at secondary school and university. But there remained a lack of Maori

representation in the skilled trades, the entry qualifications for which were lower than those which entrants to the university had obtained. As a long term measure the Maori and Island Affairs Department sympathises with the view that more can be achieved for one generation by concentrating on those who might otherwise drift into unskilled and seasonal work, where they would be more vulnerable in any economic setbacks which might occur. It is felt that the students qualified for entrance to the university can benefit from the aid granted by the Maori Education Foundation and by other normal State bursaries and are therefore generally not in need of further special assistance.

Special emphasis has, as a result, been directed at setting up special pre-apprenticeship trade training courses. These have enabled hundreds of young Maori men to enter apprenticeships on the same footing, or better, as anyone else. This scheme has been very successful as

witnessed by its low dropout rate and the number of trainees who complete apprenticeships with distinction.

Other special schemes operated by the Maori and Island Affairs Department are: typist training, introductory nursing and city pre-employment courses for young people from the country.

The education gap which exists between Maori and Pakeha (non-Maori) is partly a result of linguistic differences. While there are many Maori families where children learn English as their first language, there are also many Maori families where what English the children do learn handicaps them at school. Another reason for the lower educational attainment of Maori school leavers is the fact that for historical reasons the teaching method and content of New Zealand schools have pre-supposed that pupils come from a typically middle class British home background and this is not the case for most Polynesian children. In recent years, advisers have been

appointed to help schools with a high proportion of Maori and Pacific Island children, and extra reading material has been published to help' those with language difficulties.

In 1968, 16,000 Maori pupils were taking secondary education, and 224 were in university and teachers college (66 and 158 respectively); this represents a relatively high proportion moving onto further, prestige studies, and suggests a smoothly operating educational system for Maori people.

(c) Innovative Approaches in Canada and the U.S.A.

In recent years there have been a number of attempts to create novel institutions, or novel programs in existing institutions, to come to grips with the special problems of Indian education. Many are so new that no evaluation is possible at this time; however, fairly full descriptions are available for most. This section outlines some innovative high-school programs, followed by descriptions of attempts to provide novel programs at Canadian and American universities and other post-secondary institutions.

(i) Innovative Secondary School Programs

Indian Studies Curriculum Project, Canadian Studies Program (Chateauguay Valley Regional School Board, Quebec, and North Island Regional School Board, Quebec).

This program is being developed and implemented to give non-Indian and Indian students an understanding and appreciation of the Indian way of life and the present-day conditions and problems of the Indian of Canada, and to help the student develop a more open attitude toward the Indian philosophy. Such a curriculum development seems crucial, for not only is the usual treatment of the native population in Canadian school curricula minimal, but what there is, is frequently inaccurate and, occasionally, openly biased (see McDiarmid and Pratt, 1971).

Teaching and Research in Bicultural Education (TRIBE)

(New Brunswick and Maine)

This program is a combined effort of Maritime and Maine MicMac and Maliseet Indians to start their own high school. It is a native attempt to do something about the almost 90 per cent drop-out rate of Indian children in the Maritimes at the secondary school level.

Some of these programs are specifically for the Indian children, as an increasingly vocal native population refuses to accept the imposition of an acculturative white education system. However, equally important are the revised and new programs for white children and teachers, designed to give a fair and comprehensive knowledge and understanding of the Indian way of life, both past and present.

Rough Rock Demonstration School (Arizona)

This school is an experiment in community-controlled Indian education. The method of director R.A. Roessel is to work with the Indians, not on them. To replace the usual "either-or" type of reserve education (i.e., a child can learn to be either an Indian or a white man with the latter usually being considered the better choice), a "both-and" philosophy has been implemented. That is, Rough Rock tries to teach native children to take the best from both the Indian and white ways of life and combine these into something viable. Half of the full-time staff are Indian (46 of 91) and over a third (35) are from the immediate community. For example, instead of sending laundry out, local women are hired to come in; in the evening old men, historians, and medicine men of the tribe come to the dormitories and tell Navajo folk tales and legends. Thus, children are exposed to the traditional means of Indian education, developing knowledge of and pride in their cultural heritage and at the same time adult participation in their children's education is encouraged. This has important implications for the conflict found on many reserves, where parents are at best reluctant to have their children educated in a white system and often openly oppose school attendance, resulting in family

disintegration. A crucial part of "cultural identification" at Rough Rock is the adult arts and crafts program, which has a twofold purpose: to revive dying Navajo handicrafts so that the children of the school can observe the process, and to produce more local wage-earners. Of prime importance is the bilingual nature of the school where children are encouraged and even forced to speak in their native tongue and in English. The latter is the specific domain of two Teaching English as a Second Language (TESL) specialists.

Rough Rock not only involves the local community but actively encourages the participation of parents of all students. They are invited to spend time in the classrooms, attend board meetings, and every six weeks a new group of eight parents is hired to mend clothes, tell stories, and perform similar parental duties. This has the advantage of reducing the adult-child ratio from one to 60 to one to 15. As a program of cultural exchange, Rough Rock teachers visit the homes of all their students at least twice a year to learn about the Navajo way of life and to keep in contact with parents about their children's progress.

"It would be hard to find a more disadvantaged community than Rough Rock, where the average family of six makes \$500 a year and where cultural life is

utterly threadbare. Roessel believes that if Rough Rock can succeed - if these uneducated people can determine the educational needs of their children and their community, then it cannot be said that impoverished, uneducated people any place are unable to provide self-leadership" (Good Day at Rough Rock, P. Conklin, page 12).

(ii) Post-Secondary Programs in Canada

The North American Indian Travelling College

(Cornwall, Ontario)

Aserakowa, at the Treaty of Lancaster, 1744, observed -

But you who are wise must know that
different nations have different
conceptions of things, and you will
therefore not take it amiss if our
ideas of this kind of education happen
not to be the same with yours...Several
of our young people were formerly brought
up at the colleges of the northern
provinces...but when they came back to
us, they were bad runners, ignorant of
every means of living in the woods,
unable to bear either cold or hunger,
knew neither how to build a cabin, take
a deer, or kill an enemy; spoke our

language imperfectly. Were therefore, neither fit for hunters, warriors, or counsellors; they were totally good for nothing.

This statement is not so very different from that being voiced by many Indian parents with regard to the education their children receive at the hands of the white institutions today. Consequently, although it would be unrealistic and probably quite undesired by most Canadian Indians today to accomplish a complete return to the past way of life, the North American Indian Travelling College attempts to bring a combined program of modern knowledge and ancient wisdom to the bands of Canada via Ernest Benedict and a Volkswagen van.

Programs are taught in the language of the group visited and teachers are prepared to learn as well as instruct, in an effort to involve the whole community in the educative process. In the first year, the College covered 10,000 miles and future plans include the organization of a larger caravan.

Nishnawbe Institute (Toronto)

This is an Indian-run educational, cultural, and research institution, incorporated in the province of Ontario. Three dominant goals, reflected in the programs and projects of the Institute are 1) to permit non-Indian experts to assist native groups in pursuing the latters'

own educational and cultural purposes; 2) to test Western European assumptions and values by bringing them under the criticism of Indian people who are aware of their own values; 3) to attempt to provide the point of contact and dialogue between Canadian and American academics and Indian scholars. It is clear that while the main force of the Institute is indeed in the area of education, it is less an institution of schooling than a cultural centre for native peoples. While the first and third goals and their respective projects emphasize an exchange of values and knowledge with the white, western society, the second goal reflects a dominant desire of Indian people to determine and direct their own lives from within their own cultural milieu; to select from the Western European culture only those values and goals which have relevance for the Indian in modern society as an Indian.

Frontier College (Program at Fort Hope, Ontario, 1968-1969).

In response to a request by Indian adults for an education program for themselves ("a concept particularly attuned to Indian culture which does not identify education exclusively with children") two volunteers from Frontier College used a community education and development approach, to reinforce self-awareness and

confidence and to promote community self-help in co-operation with existing community based organizations. In keeping with this, the adult Indians were asked what they wished to learn rather than having a program imposed on them from without. The major choices were English and maths as the most important subjects that would lead to mobility and occupational freedom of choice. (Social studies, science, art, music, and photography were also popular.) Staff interaction and availability to the community, informal atmosphere and individual tutoring helped to establish community rapport. A mixed-media approach using movie filming and projection equipment, slides, and tape-recorders enabled immediate feedback with a non-verbal, non-didactic emphasis. Students were able to see for themselves the reflection of community values and traditions both in their own and others' behaviour and appearance. The great advantage of audio-visual equipment in the context of an education program is the much greater student participation in and control of the learning situation. All instruction, from the learning of English to vocational training, can be based around the visual presentation of ongoing community activity, which in turn makes the learning situation relevant, immediate, and infinitely more enjoyable.

(vii) "A Proposal for an Indian Community College in Canada", J. Lotz, (1969).

In conceiving of such a program, certain hazards were initially set out; these included the possibility that such a college could become a reserve away from the reserve - an enclave against a "hostile" white world; a well-intentioned but misguided institution of "do-gooders" and Indian "experts"; or a mere repetition of previous bureaucratic, paternalistic Indian educational endeavours. The author envisions the college as serving both the modern educational and cultural needs of the Indians as defined and directed by Indians - a place that teaches the young the skills necessary for them to take their place in the larger society, but also a place that "preserves but does not embalm the traditional culture" (page 4). It would also provide a service to the non-Indian population as an authentic information source, a meeting place of the two cultures. As with most proposals for innovative Indian education services, Indians would form the major part of the staff at all levels, both technical and administrative.

Job-training, the primary focus of Indian education to date, is becoming less and less relevant as the western world moves into the post-industrial era. Thus, such a college should be designed to assist Indians in developing

as Indians and to assist them in applying this self-knowledge successfully to the fluctuating larger society. "It should help turn education for young people from a boring (and frequently irrelevant) routine to an exciting pursuit of knowledge. It would create conditions for showing that education is a life long pursuit for Indians and whites. This is an Indian concept that we are just beginning to understand and appreciate in the western world."

Proposal for a University of the North

(University of Western Ontario, 1969-1971)

One of the major roles of such a university as envisioned by its planners would be to give expression to the cultures of the native peoples of Canada. It is believed that an emphasis on Eskimo and Indian cultures would fill a very real need since there does not exist a true campus of northern studies oriented to the original peoples. Those teaching in the area of native cultures would have entire control of such courses and would of course be natives themselves. Along these lines, the board of directors would have an equal representation of government, northern industries, and native peoples resident in the north. This proposal should not be confused with the recently chartered "University of Canada North" whose relations with northern native peoples have been quite turbulent.

Society for Indian and Northern Education - SINE

(University of Saskatchewan)

In 1964, an experiment in curriculum development with Indian children in Saskatchewan (see A. Renaud, Education from Within) aimed at training teachers of native students in the methods and implications of cultural change by developing a curriculum to support and extend Indian experience through functional learning of skills and selection of content to foster community educational growth. The trainees at this course went on to found the Society for Indian and Northern Education (SINE), whose main functions are the publication of The Northian journal and The Northian Newsletter as well as promotion of new ideas and trends in education, through representation of SINE members at teachers' institutes and conferences. The Northian and the newsletter provide a forum for cultural exchange of all those involved in native education, the airing of new ideas in educational technique, and are also outlets for native opinion and creative talent. This organization has a far-reaching impact which serves as a unifying force for all those concerned with changing and improving native (Indian and Eskimo) education.

Indian-Eskimo Studies Programme, Trent University

(Peterborough, Ontario) (Condensed from a mimeo pamphlet "Introduction to the Indian-Eskimo Studies Programme of Trent University").

Activity in the field of Indian and Eskimo Studies at Trent University stemmed from the concern of members of the faculty and administration of the university to try to correct the imbalance in educational participation at the university level of native Canadian students. Deep concern was also expressed for a programme of studies which would permit both native and non-native students to bridge the social and economic gulf that has existed and which still does exist, between the native and Euro-Canadian communities in Canada....

A committee on Indian and Eskimo studies composed of student, faculty and citizen representatives, both native and non-native, proceeded to investigate the proposed creation of a programme in Indian and Eskimo Studies. This committee and individual members convened many meetings with native and non-native people on a regional and national scale for advice and comments on the concept of the proposed programme and a potential curriculum of studies....The interest and support of these individuals greatly encouraged the committee to make a strong recommendation that such

a programme be implemented. Following action by the Senate of Trent, the university began the first year of a projected three year degree programme in Indian-Eskimo studies in the fall of 1969....

For the academic year 1969-70 one course in the Indian-Eskimo Studies programme was offered: Indian-Eskimo Studies 100. This course had an enrolment of twenty-eight students, four of whom were of native descent.

The full-time enrolment in the second full year of the Indian-Eskimo Studies programme was 110 students of which 16 students were of native descent.

In addition there were 90 part-time students who were enrolled in Indian-Eskimo Studies 100 which was offered in an evening session. During the Trent University summer school session for 1970, 85 students enrolled in the same course.

Total enrolment of full-time students in the three year curriculum of the programme in the academic year 1971-72 is 290 students. Of this total the native student enrolment figure is 20. This total is comprised of 210 students in the first year course (101), 60 in second year courses, and 20 in third year courses.

At present the curriculum in the Indian-Eskimo Studies programme includes six courses:

Indian-Eskimo Studies 100 (Dropped)

Indian-Eskimo Studies 101. (New)

A survey of the political, economic and social processes which affect the native Canadian in the contemporary Canadian society. Lecture, seminar or tutorial weekly, occasional field trips and workshops.

Indian-Eskimo Studies - Anthropology 201

(Formerly Indian-Eskimo Studies 200)

Native Societies of Canada: A study of the prehistoric background and modern groupings of Indians in Canada at the time of historical contact, including observations on physical, economic, cultural and linguistic aspects.

Lecture, seminar weekly.

Indian-Eskimo Studies 210.

The Indian Identity: A study of native (Indian, Eskimo and Metis) personalities and values in the native setting. Lecture fortnightly, tutorials weekly, occasional field trips.

Indian-Eskimo Studies 300. (New)

Regional Problems of Development: A study of the current processes in native communities to develop a political and cultural consciousness with special emphasis on the regional nature of the native communities. Lecture fortnightly, tutorials weekly, occasional field trips.

Indian-Eskimo Studies 320. (New)

Education and the Canadian Indian.

Indian-Eskimo Studies 340. (New)

Law and the Canadian Indian.

The Faculty in the 1971-72 session is:

Chairman and Professor of Indian-Eskimo Studies

Walter Currie, B.A.

Assistant Chairman and Lecturer in Indian-Eskimo Studies

Harvey McCue, B.A.

Associate Professor of Anthropology

C.H. Torok, M.A., Ph.D.

Sessional Lecturers in Indian-Eskimo Studies

E. H. Benedict, B.A

Malcom Montgomery, Ll.D., Q.C.

Peter Cumming, Ll.D.

Marlene Castellano, M.S.W.

Recent Trends in Canadian Universities and Colleges

In the past year, many post-secondary institutions have inaugurated "Native Studies" programs, and even more are being planned. McGill University has begun an Institute of Native Studies (including a teacher training program for Indian youth); in addition they have arranged with the other four universities in Montreal for a loose Indian Studies network which allows for co-operation and communication among the various students and staffs. Lakehead and Laurentian Universities have introduced Indian-Eskimo studies at the undergraduate level, and the University of Western Ontario has an associated Indian Information Centre. The University of Toronto also has a new program which pays particular attention to the needs of non-status Indians. Scholarships are offered (through a grant from the Donner Canadian Foundation) to support these Indian students who are not the responsibility of the federal government.

Brandon University has started a special teacher training program for Indian students, so that they may qualify for teaching in three years of intensive study. The Universities of Alberta and Victoria also have inaugurated Native Studies, and at the University of British Columbia a special course for Indian counsellors of Indian students has operated for two years. More recently, an Indian Education Research and Resource

Centre has been established at U.B.C. It is run by Indians, and aims at improving the abilities of B.C. teachers to meet the needs of Indian children in their classrooms. In addition, efforts are being made to bring Indian students into the University, particularly in the Department of Anthropology, so that awareness of Indian culture, both by non-Indians and by Indians themselves, may be heightened.

Since movements are rapid, there are no doubt more programs in existence than are mentioned here. Nevertheless, the major point to emerge is the proliferation, even to faddish proportions, of various Indian-Eskimo studies programs in Canada.

(iii) Post-Secondary Programs in the United States
Navajo Community College

(Chinle, Arizona)

Under the direction of a Board of Regents composed of distinguished Navajo members, the college strives to develop in the student a proud and positive self-image, with respect for and faith in his cultural heritage. It is felt that it is only individuals with such faith who can confidently take on the task of responsible citizenship in the community, state, nation and world. The college attempts to bridge the cultural gap between the Indian and white societies through the development of abilities which will aid individuals in operating effectively in

their own culture and in the larger society. In the area of program design and approach, the college has resolved to be innovative - to search out and test new ways to deal with old problems. Included in this is the determination to provide individualized study programs in the hopes of providing maximum benefit from the college experience. The objectives are not strictly instructional: besides vocational-technical training programs, adult education courses and senior university preparation, the college also aims to provide a program of community service and development; act as a centre for public relations with the broader community; serve as a centre for research into Indian cultures; and, through all these programs, foster the development of healthy pride in heritage and develop in individuals a will and a desire to look to the future.

Southwestern Indian Polytechnical Institute

(Albuquerque, N.M., cited in N.Y. Times, August 22, 1971)

This recently-opened institution for Indians throughout the U.S.A. is intended to provide training in business management, clerical work, drafting engineering and communication. Later, programs in aircraft maintenance, machine shop and building trades will be provided.

The campus, costing \$13 million, consists of 12 buildings on a 164-acre campus and was sponsored by the U.S. federal government.

Instruction is intended to be geared to the individual so that students with widely differing entrance qualifications may be enrolled. An intensive testing program, to ensure appropriate placement, precedes actual coursework.

Deganawidah-Quetzacoatl University

(Davis, California, cited in N.Y. Times, May, 1971)

D.Q.U. is claimed by its founders to be the first institution of higher learning run by Native Americans and Chicanos. Like the Navajo Community College and Rough Rock School, the administration is made up entirely of native peoples and the keynote of D.Q.U.'s program will be service to the community. As well as descriptive courses such as Indian history, there will be an orientation toward applied courses such as tribal business procedures, economic development, art and dancing. Although exchange programs with other existing institutions will be arranged, separate education is felt to have some positive value. With their own university, native students may achieve personal security and a sense of proud involvement in determining their own future, largely independent of white-dominated institutions. Once this is attained, it is envisioned that graduate students will be able to enter the dominant society with greater confidence and success.

(d) Summary and Analysis of Innovative Indian-
Eskimo Studies Programs

There can be little doubt, even from these selected descriptions, that there is an increased and increasing concern for the post-secondary educational opportunity of Indian and Eskimo students. Many of the programs appear to be well intended. That is, some attempt to provide non-Indian students with an awareness of Indian culture (with the assumption that knowledge reduces prejudice), and some attempt to provide Indian students with viable educational options (between a non-Indian institution with liberalized entrance requirements for Indians, and an Indian institution or portion of an institution specifically designed as a transmitter of Indian culture). Both of these are laudable aims; however, some problems arise when an analysis is made in terms of the intersecting variables.

If we make two distinctions, one between "regular university content courses" (which may already include some Anthropology courses dealing with Indians) and "special Indian content courses" (or institutions), and the second between non-Indian students and Indian students, we can construct the following figure:

Course or Institutional Content

<u>Culture of Student</u>	<u>Regular University Content Courses</u>	<u>Special Indian Courses or Institutions</u>
Non-Indian	1	2
Indian	3	4

We may now examine the implications of each cell.

1. By and large Canadian universities and colleges carry out this function now. They are essentially non-Indian institutions catering for a non-Indian population. They have a strong tradition, which is rooted in European intellectual history, and have served their societies relatively well for many centuries.

2. A few of the innovative programs (eg., Trent) have partly aimed at providing information for understanding Indian culture and people, with the explicit intent of reducing prejudice and increasing intergroup acceptance. Some (eg., SINE) have followed this path specifically for teachers of Indian students.

3. Other innovative programs have sought to encourage Indian participation in the regular institution by providing financial support (eg., University of Toronto, and of course the Department of Indian Affairs). Others have sought to liberalize entrance standards by various means (eg., mature student matriculation) and this seems to follow the trend

of drives for increased Negro educational participation in the U.S.A. In addition, there are adult "remedial" education programs provided by the Department of Indian Affairs, the Department of Manpower and Immigration, community colleges, and county Boards of Education. This latter approach retains entry standards, but tries to increase Indian participation by bringing the student "up" to standard.

4. Finally some of the programs (eg., Trent and U.B.C.) set up a portion of the university as an Indian institution, and some are uniquely Indian institutions (Nishnawbe, North American Indian Travelling College, Deganawidah-Quetzacoatl University). These have largely Indian instructors and aim their courses at Indian students, although some do provide courses for non-Indians (eg., Trent, Navajo Community College) essentially functioning here as in cell 2. Their main aims are to transmit Indian culture, and to critically evaluate non-Indian culture and its influence on Indian life.

Quite clearly, the two aims (of providing cultural understanding to non-Indian students, and of providing an Indian education to Indian students) need not be incompatible. Indeed, Trent University appears to be quite successful in functioning in cells 2 and 4. However, since their programs require reasonable numbers of qualified Indian

personnel, rapid increases of programs in these two cells would place serious strain on the available resources. For cell 3 (the liberalized model of the regular university) Canadians should seriously question whether this approach should be expanded since, unlike the U.S. Negro situation, many Indian nations in Canada have strongly maintained their right not to participate in non-Indian institutions. It should be apparent that the only guide that should be accepted in opting for these different cells (2 and 4, or 3), is what Indian people wish to have. It is imperative that Indian and non-Indian people find this out quickly before we, in our hasty attempt to make amends, create a post-secondary educational system (cell 3), which may remain unused.

Viable alternatives should be provided. Many non-Indians, observing the low participation of Indians in our regular post-secondary institutions, move to make it easier for Indians to participate, thus righting the injustice they perceive. However, in so doing, they may very well make regular post-secondary education so attractive that the options in cells 2 and 4 are no longer viable. In their haste to be just, they will have reduced the viability of the choices facing Indian people; they will have decided for the Indian people as unilaterally as has the typical regular and exclusive university.

Although the technical and professional aspects of regular universities are attractive because they lead to wealth, prestige, and power, even in Indian society, they are frequently not attractive because of their demands on the psychological, social, and cultural characteristics the Indian student brings to the university. It is patently unfair to increase the strain on Indian youth by forcing this choice upon them; it is also unnecessary since sufficient Euro-Canadian technical content could be transmitted in the situation in cell 4 to allow graduates to compete for the available wealth.

3. Education of Indians in Canada

(a) Historical Context and Overview

Education of status Indians in Canada has been the responsibility of the federal government since the period of first contact. The assumption of the colonizing powers that they were sovereign over the peoples in the new lands carried with it the assumption of responsibility for the welfare of the new subjects. In reality, however, provision of educational and medical services has never reached the standards readily available to other, non-Indian subjects, while in recent years the provision of welfare payments has exceeded those to non-Indians (see page 42).

A persistent dilemma throughout Euro-Canadian contact with Indian peoples emerges from a reading of our histories: are they to be included, or are they to be excluded, from major participation in national life? If the first is agreed upon, there would be the possibility of equal governmental social services for all, but there is the danger that the Indian people will cease to be Indian through eventual assimilation. If the second is agreed upon, there is little possibility of equal services for all, but the dangers of assimilation are reduced. The basic dilemma remains: how can a powerful and dominant society deal equitably with a relatively powerless minority? Specifically for education, how can programs suited to the needs of an ethnic minority be provided without the dangers of segregation and discrimination; how can an education which meets the standards of the larger society be provided without the dangers of assimilation?

Changes in recent years have served to move the "balance of danger" from the discrimination pole to the assimilation pole; many Indian people approve, many disapprove, but the opinions of most have not been sampled.

Perhaps the most relevant background document on Indian education in Canada is the Hawthorn-Tremblay Report (A Survey of Contemporary Indians of Canada, Part I: 1966 and Part II: 1967). This was a major study of the social,

educational, and economic situation of the Indians of Canada, and was initiated by the federal Department of Citizenship and Immigration. Part I was concerned primarily with economic, political, and administrative matters, while Part II was concerned with education and band organization. Since Chapters 1 to 5 of Part II have dealt extensively with Indian education in Canada, no attempt will be made here to repeat, or even to summarize, that excellent study. Rather, the reader is strongly advised to consult these five chapters for a detailed overview of Indian education in Canada and to treat them as background to the present study's concern with Ontario post-secondary education. However, the 41 recommendations dealing with education are reprinted below since they contain the major thrust of these chapters.

Hawthorn-Tremblay Recommendations on Indian Education
in Canada:

General

- (1) The principle of integrated education for all Canadian children is recommended without basic question. The integration of Indian children into the public school system should proceed with due concern for all involved and after the full cooperation of local Indians and non-Indians has been secured.

- (2) The Indian Affairs Branch should recognize a responsibility to see that integrated schooling, once embarked upon, is as successful as possible. This is an elaboration of the recommendation stressed throughout Volume 1 of the Report that the Branch should develop the function of representing the Indian's case in the many new situations of his life.
- (3) All school authorities should recognize that special and remedial programs are required for the education of Indian children, whether under integrated or other auspices.
- (4) The expectations of teachers and school authorities should be based on the practical rule that the range of potential intellectual capacity of Indian children is the same as that of White children.
- (5) Educational programs should take into account the obvious differences

- in background of the Indian student
and also the often less obvious
differences in values and motivations.
- (6) Teachers should be encouraged to learn
as much as possible about the
background and culture of their Indian
students and should take the initiative
in getting to know individuals.

Special Educational Services

- (7) On entering school many Indian children,
like many other children in Canada,
speak English or French only as a second
language if they speak it at all. To
aid these children, the remedial courses
in language which are a regular part of
Provincial curricula should be offered
in a form adapted to their special needs.
- (8) Because children from many other backgrounds
have parallel difficulties in learning and
using English or French in the School,
Provincial Departments of Education in
conjunction with the Education Division of
the Indian Affairs Branch should encourage
university Faculties of Education to offer
linguistic studies, including contrastive
grammar, as a part of teacher training.

- (9) It is recommended that the Indian Affairs Branch in conjunction with Extension Departments and Provincial Departments of Education sponsor special courses and institutes in the teaching of English as a second language. These courses would allow established teachers and the staff of faculties of education to become proficient in the newer techniques and familiar with the newer findings.
- (10) The Indian Affairs Branch, through its curriculum division and by arrangements with outside specialists, should develop materials on Indian languages which could be used as guides for classroom teachers.
- (11) Existing reserve kindergartens should be kept in operation except where children can be admitted into public school kindergartens. Where none of the latter is available, kindergartens should be introduced by the Indian Affairs Branch. A similar recommendation is offered for nursery school programs. Where possible,

such programs should be cooperative so that Indian parents may share the responsibility for helping educate their young children. The program should emphasize the language arts and provide exposure to books, stories, records and similar experiences which are unavailable on the reserves.

- (12) Few reserves have adequate home facilities for study. Several reserves have turned the Indian Day School or community hall into a study hall in the evenings. It is recommended that the Indian Affairs Branch encourage the establishment of Indian education committees which would arrange for supervised study periods for students. Tutoring should also be provided during study periods. Where they are available, high school volunteers could help younger children and university volunteers could help high school students. Teachers interested in Indian work might also assist, while Indian parents might help, as some now do, with transportation and general supervision.

Health

- (13) The standard of health of many Indian children is marginal at best. All these children should receive mandatory medical examinations prior to school entry. These should be provided by Indian Health Services or by contract with whatever source is available. Dental and eye examinations should be required annually. In order to ensure that no child continues to suffer from malnutrition, from marginal sight or hearing or other disorders that would affect school work, the school nurse should check that prescribed treatment and medication are completed following examinations. In brief, a more active public health service should be extended to Indian children and their parents.
- (14) School complaints about the standard of personal hygiene of Indian children are numerous. Many Indian homes lack adequate bathroom and laundry facilities. In most schools there are other children whose homes also lack facilities and it is

recommended that schools make arrangements so that students may use gymnasium showers and Home Economics laundry equipment. The practice of sending children home because they are dirty cannot remedy their situation and negates their education. Although the full scope of this recommendation is beyond the responsibility of the Indian Affairs Branch, the Branch should initiate arrangements with schools that receive Indian students under joint agreement. Furthermore, in keeping with a recommendation of Volume 1 of the Report, it is urged that laundromats be considered as an enterprise to be encouraged on reserves.

Curriculum

- (15) Some texts continue to include material about Indians which is inaccurate, over-generalized and even insulting. Such texts should be eliminated from the curriculum. Where elimination must proceed gradually, it is recommended that teachers immediately correct the Indian content by reference to books and other sources which should be available in school libraries. To facilitate

elimination, the Indian Affairs Branch should compile a list of texts whose references to Indians are incorrect and supply it to the Canadian Book Publishers Council as well as to Provincial Departments of Education.

The diversity of Indian culture does not make it easy to present a detailed and accurate unit on Indians, although some Provincial and city museums have assumed the responsibility of supplying materials for this. Where the materials are not already available, schools with substantial Indian enrolments might be able to arrange with adult Indians to provide local Indian material for the social studies, art, drama and literature sections of the curriculum. Non-Indian children would benefit by having their horizons extended; Indian children could acquire a sense of worth and status.

Communication and Public Relations

- (16) Almost all contacts between teachers and Indian parents are made in the school, are demanded by the teacher, and have the purpose of informing the parent about

faults in the child. Teachers should visit the reserve to see parents whenever possible and it is strongly recommended that other occasions be created for contacts between parent and teacher. To facilitate return visits by parents, contracts for school bus services might be extended to include them.

- (17) Both teachers and students report a lack of communication between them. Such a lack is not unique to schools with Indian students but the difficulty is compounded by differences in expectations and understanding when Indian students are involved. We have already recommended that teachers endeavour to increase their understanding of the background of the child. Putting this into practice, teachers should cease punishing Indian children for the results of situations they cannot control, such as tardiness, absenteeism and lack of cleanliness.

- (18) Communication and relations between children of different backgrounds are sometimes good and sometimes poor. Except in isolated instances, the determining factor seems to be the general atmosphere in the school itself and in particular the limits to acceptable behaviour set by staff. Where verbal or physical attacks on Indian children occur, it is recommended that school personnel should assume full responsibility for stopping them. On the positive side, school administrators and teachers should create an atmosphere which will foster respect and friendship between White and Indian children.

Joint Agreements

It is recommended that:

- (19) Public school facilities be used for the education of Indian children wherever the arrangements appear reasonable and beneficial.
- (20) Agreements should not be made where Provincial schools are inferior or where community attitudes are unfavourable for Indian students.

- (21) Agreements should not be signed prior to full and, if necessary, lengthy consultation of parents of Indian students and prior to ensuring their full cooperation as well as that of non-Indian parents. Some contact between parents of all school children should occur before final negotiations are undertaken.
- (22) Agreements should include formal Indian representation on a Board where Provincial law allows. In other cases a Board should agree to accept informal representation.
- (23) In order to ensure that Indian children are not handicapped by their status, provision should be made for group payments by the Indian Affairs Branch to the Board for required fees and expenditures for such items as textbooks, lunches, lockers and sports.
- (24) Provincial Departments of Education should recognize that special facilities and personnel will be required for remedial programs; these should be provided under joint auspices and financing.

- (25) The continuation of any joint agreement should be conditional on the school's continuing to provide the Indian child with an improved education.
- (26) Indian day schools should be considered for use as adult and remedial education centres when integration into the public schools is completed. Except in isolated areas there should be no further construction of these schools.
- (27) Integration should occur only after the criteria outlined earlier are met.
- (28) The conversion of present facilities into auxiliary resources should begin at the bottom and not the top. Thus ordinary admission should be refused to Grade 8 of a residential school; Grade 11 students should not be compelled to integrate in their final year; children who will terminate school early should be permitted to stay on the reserve but Grade 1 students should be admitted directly into the public system.

Denominational and Independent Schools

- (29) Capital grants to reserve schools operated under religious auspices should be discontinued.
- (30) Where reserve schools staffed by Indians are in existence and continuing to operate successfully (at par with public schools) they should be allowed to proceed as they are until parents propose that they integrate.
- (31) Denominational boarding schools should be converted into full-time hostels and cease to operate as schools.

Vocational Training and Placement

- (32) It is recommended that the Federal Government (Indian Affairs Branch and the Department of Manpower) continue to pay for upgrading courses for Indians aspiring to return to school, enter vocational training or gain employment.
- (33) Information on upgrading and vocational training is not being adequately disseminated among Indians. A wider and more active system of providing information on courses, financing and application procedures should be instituted.

- (34) The allocation of funds to this portion of the education program should be such that:
- (a) a continually increasing number of students can avail themselves of the opportunities for training;
 - (b) students may live adequately so that they may pursue their work with the greatest effectiveness;
 - (c) spouses and families can accompany the trainee to the training centre.
- (35) A continually wider range of training programs should be suggested to applicants. Many students have abilities and desires to enter pursuits which they consider not available to them. Personnel should not reinforce the choice of "Indian occupations" and should systematically provide information on alternatives.
- (36) We wish to repeat here our recommendation made in Volume 1 that the Indian Affairs Branch widen its assumption of responsibility for job placement of young Indians who have come to the city.

Additional

- (37) It is recommended that the Indian Affairs Branch provide programs offering extra training through summer school, evening and inservice courses which would enable teachers and other personnel to gain some systematic knowledge about the people with whom they work, and that Boards, Provincial Federations and Departments of Education provide opportunity and incentives for teachers to take such course.
- (38) It is recommended that the Indian Affairs Branch explore such devices as programmed learning for possible use in upgrading children quickly and effectively; also, that a program of research be instituted in which problems related to the teaching of Indian students in public schools are investigated and experimental programs inaugurated for their solution.
- (39) It is recommended that the Indian Affairs Branch remove all group psychological tests such as IQ and aptitude tests from its schools and that public schools be

urged to do likewise. The Indian Affairs Branch is in the best position to alert all school authorities to the finding that such tests are neither valid nor reliable for Indian students.

(40) A liaison officer be appointed by Provincial Departments of Education with the function of coordinating the activities of various agencies and individuals concerned with Indian educational problems at the local level.

(41) That the role of school committees be enlarged in the interest of enlisting the special knowledge possessed by the adults of the reserve.

These proposals appear to have met with general approval by the Indian people of Canada. Their emphasis on "integration" (recommendation # 1) has been tempered by a concern for safeguards to retain the cultural integrity of the pupils, and this may be at the root of their acceptability. Their temperate meaning for the term also approximates the use of the term earlier in this Report (pages 15 and 28), although their recommendations do not produce a pattern as autonomous as that envisaged in Model 1 (page 27).

The tenor of their recommendations, if extended to the post-secondary level, would match aspects of cells 3 and 4 in our analyses of actual and potential models of innovative post-secondary education (pages 103 and 104). Given their repeated emphasis on what should be done for Indians by various levels of government, the recommendations probably more closely approximate cell 3, where Indian students attend regular universities which have liberalized their admission or extended their curricula to accommodate Indian students. However, their report was written five years ago, and Indian demands for autonomy have increased greatly in that period, (see, for example, Cardinal, 1970); it is thus not inconceivable that their recommendations might be written today with a tenor that extends more nearly to cell 4, where there are specifically Indian courses and/or institutions largely under Indian control.

(b) Federal Government Responsibility

The current policy of the Department of Indian Affairs regarding status Indian education is contained in a speech by A. G. Leslie of the Department of Indian Affairs in 1967:

1. It is the policy to arrange for the education of Indian children with non-Indian children wherever possible. The programme which was introduced in the fifties to implement this policy requires

the agreement of the parents and provides for federal sharing in operating and capital costs through agreements with school boards or provinces. Approximately 30,000 Indian children now attend in more than 1,000 provincial schools, or 48% of the total Indian pupil enrollment of 62,000 at an annual cost of \$11,750,000 to the Department.

2. It is the policy to operate Federal day schools to serve Indian children who cannot, because of isolation or distance, be accommodated in provincial schools. We are operating almost 400 of these schools. The programme provides for use of the provincial course of studies, the operation of transportation systems for the pupils and the upgrading of these schools as quickly as funds can be obtained. However, it is also the policy to transfer the operation of these schools to provinces and municipalities where this can be arranged. To illustrate, the Northland School Division in northern Alberta and the Frontier School Division in

Manitoba have taken over many of the Indian schools in their areas.

3. It is the policy to operate government-owned residential schools, government-owned and operated hostels and church-owned hostels, where it is not practical to establish day schools due to the migratory habits of the Indians, or for other reasons. We own 58 residential schools and two Hostels and these are operated by religious denominations under financing agreements with the Branch; four residential schools are owned by the Roman Catholic Church and are operated on grants from the federal government. The number of pupils in residential schools and hostels has remained relatively constant over the past three years although the general trend is to decreased enrollment as the program expands for the education of Indian children in the provincial school system.
4. It is the policy to operate kindergartens to help Indian children prepare for admission to grade 1 at the age of six.

The kindergarten programme is comparatively new and is not nearly as extensive as we would like it to be. There are now, however, some 2,500 pupils enrolled in the kindergarten programmes in provincial and federal schools. More emphasis is being given to the provision of kindergarten classes and the development of special methods of oral language instruction.

5. It is the policy to assist worthy students in vocational training and through university. I am sure you will be interested in knowing that the Department will provide for any Indian student throughout his college career, the only requirement being that he pass and that he help himself as much as possible. The Department also provides room and board; clothing and personal allowances for students attending vocational, adult education and special training programmes, teacher training, nursing and university were given to 2,141 students. An additional 2,753 students were enrolled in 145 adult education programmes conducted on reserves.

6. It is the policy to ensure continuity between training and employment through a guidance and placement programme. Guidance personnel work with the Indian students and assist them in their adjustment to a non-Indian environment and in finding jobs. Our placement service works closely with provincial and federal placement agencies. During 1965-66 it was instrumental in placing over 1,100 people in permanent employment and 11,000 in temporary jobs, in addition to those who were assisted in finding employment by the agency superintendents and those who secured jobs for themselves.
7. It is our policy to assist Indian families to relocate from areas of marginal or extremely limited economic opportunity to areas where job opportunities are available.

Toward this end, 20 families have been relocated from isolated areas in northern Ontario to the Elliot Lake Centre for Continuing Education where the heads of households are being upgraded as

preparation for employment while the wives are being given intensive training in homemaking.

Seven additional relocation projects of 20 families each, one in each region, are planned for 1968-69 as joint ventures between Indian Affairs Branch and the Department of Manpower.

These projects are designed to tell us what is required in terms of training and social orientation to equip families from isolated areas for successful movement into centres offering opportunities for permanent employment.

This foregoing statement is the best single concise statement of current educational policy available.* However, in the four years since this statement was prepared certain changes in emphasis have occurred. First, there is a tendency not to have policy handed down at all, but to have the Department respond, in as consistent a way possible, to the needs of Indian peoples. This recent change in approach, however, has not been detected by

* The Parliamentary Standing Committee on Indian Affairs and Northern Development recently made 17 recommendations (tabled June 30, 1971); however, these have not yet been accepted by the Department of Indian Affairs, and are thus not policy. The spirit of these recommendations is sympathetic to those contained in the Hawthorn-Tremblay Report (see pages 108-123).

most Indians; until it is applied to the degree where it is noticed, the 1967 policy must be considered largely operative.

The second change in emphasis (referring to No. 1) has been to slacken the pace of school "integration"; nevertheless, current statistics (see Table 10, page 137) still forecast a major transfer of Indian pupils to provincial schools.

Thirdly (referring to No. 3), the Department of Indian Affairs has taken over the operation of all residential schools so that religious groups now only advise on staffing. Furthermore, residential schools are being eliminated, and present intentions of the Department are to replace them with suitable educational facilities on the reserves.

Fourthly (referring to No. 4), there is now a program for the summer training and winter employment of kindergarten and primary school classroom assistants. Finally (referring to No. 6), there is now large-scale activity in the field of in-service and on-the-job training (see Tables 12 and 19).

The details of financial assistance available to status Indian students is described in the "Educational Assistance Policy" of the Department of Indian Affairs (see bibliography). This policy makes possible the provision of funds to enable students of Indian status to attend educational institutions - primary, secondary and post-secondary, including junior

colleges, universities, technical and vocational schools or facilities providing for upgrading, training-on-the-job, occupational training or special courses. Such assistance may be extended to off-reserve families and to non-Indians living on reserves, with certain limitations as defined by the policy. For the former category it is obvious that municipal and provincial school services of the community will be available to the children. However, where additional assistance is required, it may be granted by the federal government provided that: 1) there is no duplication of the services provided by other agencies, and 2) the need for assistance is established. This also applies to post-secondary off-reserve students again provided that they are able to establish financial need and provided they are normally considered a resident of Canada at the time of application. In order for non-Indians living on reserves to obtain assistance they must fit one of the following categories: women of former Indian status; non-Indian children of such women; illegitimate non-Indian children of Indian mothers; non-Indian children whose mothers become Indian by marriage; other non-Indians for whom assistance, in the opinion of the minister, is justified. Nevertheless, it is intended to provide equal incentive to continue in school for all students, whether they attend school from their home, a boarding home, or a student residence. The types of educational assistance

available to elementary and secondary-school students include tuition fees, books and supplies, room and board where necessary, clothing, transportation - both daily for students residing at home, and for students residing away from home to return home once a year. Finally, an educational allowance may be provided to cover miscellaneous and personal expenses partially or in full depending upon the parents' financial status. Students aged between 14 and 17 or in Grades 9 to 13 may receive \$10.00 per month while students aged 18 and over may receive \$20.00 per month up to and including Grade 13. All other areas of financial assistance are provided as necessary, based on an estimate of the student's parents' ability to contribute in consultation with a Counsellor and District Superintendent of Education.

For students in post-school programs, assistance is not approved until all applicable existing programs which provide for financial assistance to trainees and their dependents have been explored and it is confirmed that the necessary assistance is not available from these sources. In addition to support for students taking training courses both at and away from home, the federal government will also provide assistance to workers who find it necessary to move in order to acquire suitable employment. Such assistance includes the cost of transportation for the worker and his dependents

and re-establishment at the new job location. The latter shall not exceed the lesser of \$1,000 or the aggregate of \$200 for the worker, \$200 for one dependent, and \$100 for each additional dependent; such assistance terminates six months after the initial grant has been authorized.

Similar settlement grants are made for trainees who must move to take advantage of post-school education and in addition such fees and supplies as are necessary to the completion of the course will be provided. All grants and rates of assistance are in line with the Canada Manpower Adult Occupational Training Regulations. Trainees not taking on-the-job training are also given an allowance for themselves and their dependents. While this varies slightly from region to region across Canada, Ontario figures are modal. Trainees at home without dependents receive \$43 per month and this is increased by \$19 for the first dependent, \$10 for each of the next two dependents, and \$6 for the fourth or more dependents. A trainee living away from home receives an additional \$23 per month.

In addition to the above financial assistance, a number of scholarships are awarded each year to students with demonstrated ability or talent. They are intended to act as an incentive for improved performance and to stimulate an interest in continuing professional training. In 1969, 63 scholarships were awarded as follows:

- 9 University Scholarships
- 5 Teacher Training Scholarships
- 7 Nursing Scholarships
- 3 Independent School Scholarships
- 11 Cultural Awards (Music, Art, Drama)
- 28 Vocational Training Achievement Awards

Eleven of these scholarships were awarded to Ontario Indian students.

Since the Department of Indian Affairs does not consider itself responsible for non-status Indian persons, there has long been a serious neglect of support for non-status Indian students. However, there are signs that private agencies are beginning to recognize this problem. For example, in August, 1971, the University of Toronto announced the receipt of a grant of \$110,400 over a three-year period from the Donner Canadian Foundation to the Indian-Eskimo Scholarship Program launched by the University. This will cover the salary of a Program Administrator (who will be of Indian or Eskimo background), five annual bursaries of \$1,500 each for non-registered (i.e., non-status) Indians to study at the University, and travelling expenses for students and faculty. This is an important innovation since specific financial assistance by the federal government is restricted to status Indians only. However, the program will also aim to provide help and counsel to registered (status) Indians and to involve them directly in its summer field activities.

(c) Demographic Background

The growth of Indian population, school-age population and amount spent by the federal government on Indian education are given below for selected years where statistics are available.

TABLE 8

Population of Status Indians in Canada and Federal Educational Expenditures

Year	Population (rounded)	Population Aged 5-15	Federal Expenditure on Education
1890	120,000	-	-
1900	100,000	-	-
1924	105,000	-	-
1934	115,000	-	-
1944	125,000	-	-
1954	150,000	48,000	\$ 8,000,000
1964	210,000	63,000	31,000,000
1970	250,000	78,000	85,000,000
1975	275,000 *	85,000 **	-
1978	290,000 *	90,000 **	-

* projected at 2.8% increase per annum

** projected at 31.5% of total population

A most obvious contrast in trends is apparent between the fairly steady population statistics and the amounts spent on providing education at all levels.

This general population growth is magnified for those concerned with education because there is an increasing proportion of status-Indian persons attending schools; the following table illustrates this:

TABLE 9
Percentage of Status-Indian Persons of Selected Ages Attending
Schools

<u>Year</u>	<u>Age</u>		
	5 years	6 years	7 - 15 years
1962	12	77	90
1963	13	84	93
1964	16	86	93
1965	28	86	94
1966	34	88	94
1967	38	89	95
1968	42	87	96
1969	47	88	96
1970	50	89	96

Plateau levels appear to have been reached for the six to 15 year olds, with little change occurring in the past five years.

A major change over the past few years has been the growth in the proportion of students attending provincial schools, and the proportionate reduction in those attending federal Indian schools. This change has come about through the policy of school "integration" (page 124, # 1) of the Department of Indian Affairs, and swings the balance away from discrimination toward the danger of assimilation. Data showing this change are presented in the table below, both for past years and projected for future years by the Department of Indian Affairs.

TABLE 10

Percentage of Status Indian Students in Federal and Non-Federal (Provincial) Schools

	<u>% Federal</u>	<u>% Non-Federal</u>
1959	78	22
1969	41	59
1970	38	62
1971	35	65
1972 *	30	70
1973 *	26	74
1974 *	22	78
1975 *	19	81

* Projected figures

Although there seems to be a recent slowing of this process (see page 130), from these statistics we may conclude that the federal government clearly intends to pursue its policy of having status Indian children attend provincially operated schools. This will put the onus for educational innovation in the hands of the provinces, and they will have to move quickly if they are to meet the challenge.

A further trend nationally has been for "school committees" to form in status Indian communities. Their powers vary widely, from merely advisory, through veto privilege on teacher employment, to actual control over some aspects of the education process. This growth is indicated in Table 11:

TABLE 11

Number of Status Indian School Committees in Recent Years

<u>Year</u>	<u>Number of Committees</u>
1963	51
1964	53
1965	68
1966	72
1967	n/a *
1968	165
1969	n/a *

* not available

With regard to Ontario, the provincial Department of Education has an agreement with the Department of Indian Affairs by which pupils from Indian Bands attend public schools ("integration"). Where such pupils are in attendance, the local Board of Education may, at its discretion, invite an Indian representative to sit on the Board as a trustee. Of the 46 school-board districts in Ontario where Indian pupils are in attendance, 16 have an Indian representative, and 30 do not. In two cases, there was some opposition to requested Indian representation (one of which now has representation), and in one case the several Indian bands could not agree among themselves who would be the representative.

In summary, we find that the federal government has full responsibility for status-Indian education, but that it fully intends to transfer the actual instruction to the provinces, the cost being borne by the federal government through grants to either provincial Departments of Education or, in some areas, directly to local school boards. Financial support is also available for individual status Indians from the federal government and there have been recent non-governmental moves to look after the needs of non-status Indians.

Finally, two trends have been of importance in recent years. The Indian population has increased rapidly and this has been augmented slightly by an increase in the proportion attending school. Secondly, there has been a strong move (numerically) to increase Indian participation in the educational process through the establishment of school committees; however, their powers vary widely and are generally quite limited in relation to the federal and provincial powers retained. In Ontario, Indian representatives may also be invited to sit on local school boards; however, only a little more than one third of the Bands have requested or been given this privilege.

There has been a steady growth in post-secondary enrolment over the past 15 years, with the greatest increase in the vocational categories (Table 12). Of particular note is the very low increase in the numbers choosing teacher training; this has special significance for primary education, since it has been the experience in other countries that teachers from the same ethnic group are most successful in teaching their own ethnic minorities. Also of note is the still small absolute number of students at the university level; although the growth has been more than tenfold in a decade, there appear to be special barriers to entering universities. Foremost among these is the high pre-university attrition rate. However, there is also some evidence that Indian youth are not attracted to these essentially non-Indian institutions.

Post-Secondary Status Indian Enrolment in Canada in Recent Years

Year	Univer- sity	Teacher Training	Nursing	Nurses Aide	Vocat- ional	Auxil- liary	Up- Grading	Special	Other	Total
1948	9									
1957	27	21	36	40	279	-	-	-	70	473
1958	26	33	23	38	281	-	-	-	68	469
1959	41	33	25	22	279	-	-	-	75	475
1960	60	13	18	23	333	-	-	-	105	552
1961	50	25	20	23	233	-	-	-	121	472
1962	57	20	20	13	241	288	-	-	-	639
1963	68	14	16	18	438	264	-	-	-	818
1964	88	24	20	74	919	384	562	-	-	2071
1965	131	18	24	74	1170	661	726	-	-	2804
1966	150	13	15	74	1354	970	921	185	-	3682
1967	142	23	21	74	1807	946	2224	200	-	5437
1968	189	38	20	74	1705	1505	1443	235	-	5209
1969	321	49	24	74	2114	2007	n/a	n/a	-	-
1970	432	48	24	74	1778	2275	n/a	n/a	-	-

The rise in status Indian university enrolment over this period is traced by regions in Table 13.

TABLE 13

University Enrolment of Status Indians by Region for

<u>Region</u>	<u>Selected Years</u>				
	<u>1959</u>	<u>1963</u>	<u>1968</u>	<u>1969</u>	<u>1970</u>
Maritimes	9	10	14	12	25
Quebec	12	20	48	37	83
Ontario	8	16	34	74	90
Manitoba	1	1	15	33	31
Saskatchewan	5	8	22	56	91
Alberta	2	7	23	52	41
British Columbia	4	6	32	57	71
TOTAL	41	68	188	321	432

It is clear from these data that growth has been uneven, and that Indian representation in the various provincial university systems varies widely.

(d) Major Issues in Indian Education

A number of issues are being debated currently, sometimes privately and occasionally publicly. These issues are those which stem from the dilemma briefly outlined earlier in this section: where is the "balance of danger" (page 107) to settle between the extremes of assimilation and discrimination?

The wishes of the Indian people cannot be stated at this time; they are often not articulated and when they are, they are often heterogeneous. However, some published material is available.

The present task is to attempt to outline, in as clear a form as possible, the basic issues which must be solved. Since these issues have arisen in the context of acculturation, and are problems which are a function of being caught between two cultural systems, it is useful to attempt an analysis in terms of the three basic phenomena of this acculturational dilemma: ethnic identity, institutional controls, and mutual goals.

The first problem may be put baldly as a question: "Do Indian people in Canada wish to remain Indian or do they wish to become solely Canadian; do they wish to retain an Indian identity or do they wish to lose it?" Associated with this question are five of the many issues which are currently debated.

(i) Provincial versus Federal Schools

Despite the danger of discrimination, federal schools, which were largely attended by Indians, at least provided for the possibility of ethnic awareness and for communal Indian activities. On the other hand provincial schools teach Indians and non-Indians alike, and although some teachers show a willingness to accommodate the interests

of the Indian students, the probability is that Indian identity will be severely questioned and may not be retained.

(ii) Residential Schools versus Community Schools

Residential schools, which were intended to provide education of a reasonable standard in regional centres, are fast disappearing (see page 130). These were largely operated by religious personnel, who sometimes approached their duties with an evangelical fervour which brought into serious question the traditional religion and other retained cultural characteristics of the students. This experience, coupled with the relatively young age (12 or 13) at which students were taken to regional centres, brought on strong emotional reaction in many students, and sometimes contributed to identity crises and psychopathological problems (see, for example, Wintrob, 1969). Community schools, on the other hand, are attempts to bring educational facilities to the centres of Indian population (frequently on reserves). The possibility of retaining one's ethnic identity is low in the former approach to education; indeed, parents, especially in the North, complain that when their children return each summer, many cultural characteristics, but particularly their language, are lost. Community schools are more likely to reduce most of these intra-psychic and inter-generational conflicts.

(iii) Community Schools versus Boarding in the South

The problems of identity and inter-generational conflict noted above are only compounded when students are transported south from northern settlements. In these cases, students leave their immediate culture area and, although private families are frequently the well-intentioned hosts (rather than denominational residences), the group support essential for retained ethnic identity is lacking, and severe stress and psychopathology frequently result.

(iv) Language of Instruction

In many parts of the world it is accepted that to teach is to communicate; if the language of the student is not that of the dominant group(s), then education must be, at the very least initially, in the traditional language. Teachers of native origin (such as those employed in the Province of Quebec and the U.S.S.R.), should thus be sought so that linguistic and cultural (v) continuity may be achieved.

For many Indians, education forces reduced proficiency in the traditional language, or even loss, if instruction takes place away from his area; and for many Indians, language is the key to ethnic identity. Although some moves have been made in the direction of native language instruction, it appears to be informal and unsanctioned by the Department of Indian Affairs.

(v) Cultural Content of Program

At one extreme, the educational program could be run by and for Indians, where the content of the program would be made up only of those values and skills traditionally transmitted in their cultures. At the other extreme, no Indian cultural content would be included in the program; this was very close to the situation until recently, and continues to be so in many schools. In between, special courses or re-oriented conventional courses could be provided on Indian values, religion, language or skills. Again, this issue is related to questions of ethnic identity, just as language of instruction was; if there is little transmission of traditional cultural elements in the family or community (due to cultural disintegration), where else but in the school can an Indian student learn the content and standards of his group's behaviour?

These five issues arise again when the question of institutional control is examined:

(i) The only alternatives are not federal or provincial schools; the possibility of Indian schools - that is, educational institutions controlled by Indians - should be given serious attention. We have seen that such schools exist in other jurisdictions (Section 2).

(ii) & (iii) With Indian control over their own education, it may prove unnecessary for anonymous

residences or southern boarding to exist any longer. If the educational goals of Indian peoples (at all levels) could be met in their own community or culture area, both issues would disappear.

(iv) & (v) Institutional control would necessarily include control over the curriculum and language of instruction. These issues could be resolved by Indian people according to their consensual views.

The third major element typically found in the acculturation dilemma is that of the acceptance, or not, of mutual goals shared with the larger society. Once again the five issues are related:

(i) If mutual goals are sought, then it is likely that some elements of education in common with the larger society would be required by the Indian people. If federal schools no longer exist (as is intended), then some form of association with provincial school systems might prove the most convenient. If no mutual goals are agreed upon, then both school systems would be irrelevant.

(ii) & (iii) If mutual goals are not sought, then the problem of boarding in the south would no longer exist. If mutual goals are agreed upon, it would probably be useful for Indian students to study and work in non-Indian communities, as well as for non-Indian students to study and work in Indian communities. However, the age at which

these exchanges take place could be delayed, to minimize the sometimes severe emotional consequences.

(iv) & (v) If mutual goals are sought, then language of instruction and curriculum would include sufficient instruction in the language and skills of the larger society for Indian people to make their contribution to national life. If mutual goals are not sought, then little knowledge of the language and skills of the larger society would be required.

In summary, these five issues can be shown to be related to the often-found phenomena of acculturation.

No attempt will be made here to examine each of these problems in relation to the eight combinations of response to these acculturational phenomena (see Section B in part I of this Report). Nevertheless, it is apparent that certain of these combinations would aid or inhibit solutions to these basic issues.

(e) Indian Views on Major Issues in Indian Education

As has been pointed out in other sections of this report, the geographic, linguistic, and cultural variations of the Indian population in Canada negate the possibility of one standard native response to the major issues in Indian education. Within the last two years, two books containing views of native people have appeared - namely, Harold Cardinal's, The Unjust Society;

and The Only Good Indian, a series of articles and poems edited by Waubageshig (Harvey McCue). These deal with all aspects of the Indian situation, but include extensive comments in the area of Indian education. Dealing with this area more specifically are The Northian journal and The Northian Newsletter both founded by the Society for Indian and Northern Education.

In this section, relevant articles will be summarized and selected quotations presented from these publications to give an indication (admittedly, highly incomplete) of Indian opinion in regard to the major issues outlined in the previous section.

Two complete papers are also included in the appendix. The first was one prepared early in 1971 by the Union of Ontario Indians and is entitled "Education of the Native Peoples of Ontario"; it discusses many of the major issues, especially local school control and culturally relevant curricula. The second was prepared by Mrs. Marlene Brant Castellano of Sir Sandford Fleming College in Peterborough; it is a report of a study of the problems of Indian students in adapting to a community college, and its demands upon them.

Finally, statements made during the interviews which we conducted during the course of the study will be reproduced here as commentary on these major educational issues. We do not claim that these views are representative

of Indian opinion in Ontario. However, in conjunction with previously published and submitted views, this interview material makes direct and first-hand comment on the issues, and adds urgency to the nature of the problems.

(i) Published Views. Harold Cardinal, in his book, The Unjust Society, asks the question, "Can education legitimately be used as a tool for cultural assimilation?" and answers it with a resounding "No!" There is a distinction between informal, pragmatic teaching and learning and more formal, programmed instruction but it cannot be claimed that the latter is "education" and the former is not. Cardinal calls the Indian method of enculturation "education-to-a-purpose", enabling the child to become a functioning, contributing part of his society. Formal education following the appearance of the white man on this continent was unfortunately not simply a transmission of skills by which Indians, if they so chose, could gain benefit from the encroaching culture. It was originally, and for almost three centuries following, linked with the transmission of a new religion, a new set of values, an attempt to convert and "civilize" the aboriginal population such that "educated" Indians tended to be alienated from their traditional way of life and yet unable and often unwilling to enter into the new culture. According to Cardinal, this turns the child against education too, preventing him from seeing or appreciating the benefits

of a real education. To rectify the situation, Cardinal believes "the obvious first step is the transfer of power from the people responsible for the administration of education to the people whose lives will be determined by it" (page 51). That is, with respect to institutional control, the federal government must relinquish its monopoly to the Indians. "The greatest weakness of government programming, both now and for the future lies in the fact that there is no direct consultation with or involvement of our people" (page 56). For Cardinal, this appears to be the major issue and goal. Once accomplished, the Indian will then be free to make a choice concerning future goals. Every man should have some degree of choice as to his home environment, to find fulfilment in modern society without necessarily becoming totally urbanized. "For the Indian child, education must help in the discovery of a positive self-image and must arm him with the skills that will help him survive in man's new wilderness - modern society" (page 60).

"George Kiwanos is an Indian from Fort George on James Bay. He pilots the Roman Catholic mission freight boat out of Moosonee....Somebody asked him how he knew the locations of all the dangerous shoals in the shallow James Bay waters. "I don't know where they all are," he replied, "but I know where they are not." (Joe McClelland, London Free Press, special issue, page 15).

While this is an obviously efficient method of navigation, many Indians feel that it is also a strategy frequently used by whites when they visualize the Canadian Indian; for example, he is not oriented toward the Protestant ethic of delayed gratification, competition, and private ownership. In other words, his values are not those of the dominant society; what is unfortunate is that seemingly little effort has been made to discover or appreciate what an Indian is. Consequently, efforts are made by non-Indians to fill in the gaps, to correct what an Indian is not, to the detriment of the student as an individual and as a member of the Indian race, with its own cultural prescriptions and value orientations. "What is needed...is a new definition of what it is to be an Indian, formulated not in terms of deviation from white norms, but in terms of what Indians value in their communal life" (Castellano, 1970, page 59).

In previous sections of this study a careful distinction has been made between integration and assimilation, yet for a number of Indians the two words have come to have almost the same meaning. The policy of "integration" in education, whereby Indian students are moved off the reserve, particularly for secondary and post-secondary education is seen by many to be a one-way street - not integration at all, but the stripping away of the native culture and replacement with predominantly white values and beliefs:

in other words, assimilation. For Lydia Yellowbird (1970) such an educational process, controlled from outside her culture is simply a form of brainwashing, or "psychological genocide" (page 108).

Some native writers see the setting of, or even the consideration of, mutual goals as impossible until something positive is done to re-establish Indian cultural identity and pride. The tendency for the federal government to impose, virtually unchanged, non-Indian education programs, seems to mitigate against such an ethnic revitalization since such programs do not accommodate the, often broad, linguistic, cultural and value differences between the Indian and non-Indian societies. Thus, the Indian child is caught between the lure of economic opportunity and his strong family ties, often being threatened with social and psychological disintegration. However, Marlene Castellano (1970) sees the current protest of Indian youth as a sign that a form of true integration may be possible. This is the striking of balance between 20th century skills and Indian traditional identity.

Basil Johnston (1970) outlines the extreme economic poverty of many Canadian Indians. However, he believes loss of dignity and morale through the disintegration of the self-image is even more debilitating. Thus, "in this sense the issue becomes a case of books or intellectual

growth before bread. At the political level they must seize and conduct their own community affairs. At another level, they must look to the past for inspiration" (page 133). Here again is the belief that issue # 2 is of crucial importance, that institutional control belongs rightfully to the Indians. Through this the Indians will decide which of the numerous educational alternatives will best enable the return of cultural pride, the development of a positive Indian self-image.

It is quite clear from most published views that the early removal of children from their parents, the enforced use of only English, the forbidden native tongue, the values transmitted in a predominantly non-Indian education are all strongly felt to be detrimental to the resolution of any of the major issues. In much of this material, the tone is one of frustration and anger.

Although it lacks the extreme bitterness of some of the above articles, the paper in Appendix A of this study of the Union of Ontario Indians (U.O.I.) concisely delineates the major thrust of most of the published views on the issues of Indian education and also makes some concrete suggestions as to potential solutions.

(ii) Selected Interview Comments. Two factors are immediately apparent upon reading the interviews collected for this report. One is the acknowledged difference between the situation and consequent needs of Indians in northern

Ontario and those of Indians in the south. This is specifically brought up in the Union of Ontario Indians' report and is evident in a number of the interview statements, particularly with respect to the effects of assimilation and integration and the question of ethnic identity. For example, the Band Administrator for Georgina Island, in commenting on the Trent Indian Studies Teacher Training Programme, points out: "Many of the teachers taking the course are only exposed to the southern situation as far as Indian education is concerned, and this differs drastically from the north." A former Manitoulin Island teacher suggests that the acculturation process has taken place at a much more rapid pace in the south, to the extent that whereas revised curricula might help the more isolated northern Indians, southern Indians "are so involved with white communities that I don't think changing the general curriculum would help". However, she is in favour of Indian culture classes to instil a sense of heritage in the Indian students. Linked with this is the second factor - the observation that a certain amount of acculturation is inevitable (and perhaps necessary).

Generally speaking, the interview responses were more positive than the publications examined in the last section - diversity of views was evident, but again these emphasized the major issues with a fair degree of consensus. While most acknowledged the value of non-Indian influence, they

stated a firm belief in the value of cultural retention; there was an expressed desire for an education system, particularly at the primary and secondary levels, which would help develop ethnic identity through the use of accurate historical, cultural and native linguistic material (the hopes for the latter were not very optimistic). Besides new or altered curricula, there were suggestions to keep Indian education on or near reserves at least until secondary schooling, or to gradually ease Indian children into non-Indian schools, thus avoiding an abrupt and often shattering socio-psychological experience with an unfamiliar way of life. Many of the interviewees involved directly in the teaching of Indian children stressed the problems in native education that are a direct result of the gap between the values and interpersonal norms of the two cultures. Basic communication problems, for example, range from the student and/or teacher's inability to converse in English and/or the native tongue to Indian personality traits that influence the style of communication, for example, the meaning of non-response.

Others thought that gradual educational integration might even be promoted by having non-Indian children attend reserve schools.

The belief was expressed by two Indian educators that the decision as to when children move outside the reserve for schooling should be made by the parents of the Band.

A teacher at the Wikwemikong Reserve on Manitoulin Island states: "I really think it is a good idea for the students to leave the reserve for high schools so they may see what it is like. After all, that is where they will be working - in white society, so they might as well face it at an early age." The expressed fear that cultural loss occurs when the student enters non-Indian society was countered by one former teacher who felt that leaving the reserve would facilitate adjustment to the larger society, and that the urban environment would tend to increase ethnic awareness. "It seems to me that Indians living in urban centres are a lot more culture conscious than we are here on the reserve."

Obviously, the question of identity was not limited to primary and secondary school. The executive director of the Indian Eskimo Association suggested a mobile school in trailers so that, instead of sending students from school to school, the learning centre could be moved to accommodate students. The cost would probably not exceed that of moving trainees and their dependents to appropriate sites and would be much less socially and psychologically disruptive. There was almost universal endorsement of the universities offering native studies programs. These were believed to be especially important with respect to teacher training of both Indians and non-Indians who would be teaching Indian students.

At present, Indian influence in institutional control varies from region to region. Nowhere is there total control; in some cases the situation is considered satisfactory in that money is given by the Department of Indian Affairs but the band makes its own budget and spends it as it sees fit, while another educator commented: "Our school system as it is now is not an Indian school system...The schools on the reserves do not belong to the Indians...Final decisions are out of their hands and they are very conscious of that."

In the interviews there was less stress laid on the issue of institutional control than in the published material reviewed. There was some suggestion that it may take time before Indian spokesmen (where they exist) can gain enough experience and confidence to utilise their positions to gain a better education for themselves and for their children. No one indicated a preference for total government control; the tendency was to opt for increased if not total control by Indians.

Finally, the Indians in this small sample seemed fairly certain that native young people, today and especially in the future, would have to have job skill competence and a familiarity with cultural patterns of the larger Canadian society to enable them to gain economic benefits from it. Almost everyone agreed that future success (financially, anyway) would be found in the main only within a modern

milieu. What is important is that students also maintain their cultural ties, their traditional heritage. Thus integration (model # 1, page 30) appeared to be a possible resolution. However, an interesting dilemma was pointed out by two Indian spokesmen interviewed, who suggested that perhaps the current educational system is asking the Indian to strive for Euro-Canadian values and goals which are now being questioned by the non-Indians themselves. Many Indians have noted the recent strong criticism by many non-Indians (eg., student protests; radical alternative education programs) of an educational system which supports and teaches material acquisitiveness and competitiveness. They cannot help but feel that this vanguard of post-industrial society seems to be advocating a way of life based on values much closer to the Indian traditional life style. Perhaps it is time for a truly integrational cultural exchange pattern to achieve mutually established goals.

As was initially pointed out, Indian opinion is diverse; nevertheless, there is a general agreement that change in the Indian education pattern must and will occur, whether it be of a radical, revolutionary style suggested by some modern Indian authors, or whether it takes a more moderate, evolutionary path as many of the interviews might suggest.

The limited number of interviews conducted with non-natives involved in Indian education in Ontario obviously restricts the generalizations that can be made from these statements. Nevertheless, as with the native interviews, the major concerns discussed bear out the selection of the five major issues as related to the three phenomena of acculturation outlined at the beginning of this section. One of the more noticeable features of these interviews is the caution which most persons expressed in their attempt to interpret what they feel Ontario Indians want from an educational system. This may become confused with what they as non-Indians want for the Indians. A college principal points out: "It is a very difficult thing to change a person's aspirations without actually changing their value system." Since Indian values are not shared by non-Indians, particularly with regard to material gains and competitive drive, their goals may be different and "for this reason it is hard to say what is a successful Indian."

Part of the confusion seems to stem from the fact that the understanding of Indian needs and wants appears to be a function of the particular reserve or region with which an individual is familiar. For example, an elementary school principal describes the enthusiasm with which the adult education program is met at Paint Hills, while a

Department of Indian Affairs, District Superintendent of Education feels that the Indians from his district are for the most part disinterested in furthering their own or their children's education. And, as has been previously pointed out, such regional differences are further complicated by the over-riding cultural communication gap between Indians and non-Indians.

However, in general these non-Indian educators appear to agree on several points which in turn coincide with the statements of natives previously discussed. This consensus has to do with the phenomena of institutional control and the setting of mutual goals. However, much divergence of opinion occurs in the discussion of Indian identity. This should not seem too surprising for if Indians are experiencing difficulty in discovering "self-identity" and "Indianness", how much greater will be the problem for the non-Indian. In discussing this diversity of Canadian Indian linguistic groupings, one respondent states: "We certainly cannot interpret 'Indianness' for them, but on the other hand neither can they. Therefore, if culture is communication, there exists many different cultures....It becomes very hard to get a consensus of what the Indians want." Designing an educational system becomes very difficult in this case if one must develop one system for everyone.

There is some agreement that young children should attend community schools on or near the reserve, in order to give them a cultural base, rather than being removed too early from their way of life. Thus, it is also felt (though by no means unanimously) that the native language of instruction and cultural content in the programs will also equip the Indian child to better cope with his position. The problem seems to be to encourage Indians to continue their schooling without endangering, but rather, facilitating, the development of Indian identity. "It is an interesting question to wonder if one can change their aspirations without changing them", one interviewee commented. And, of course, another major obstacle faced by non-Indians is the opposition to and mistrust of educational change by parents of Indian school children. Some interviewees had experienced rejection when suggestions for on-reserve schools, Indian studies programs, adult education classes, etc., were presented; others, however, have found enthusiastic demand and support for such innovations. It is difficult to ascertain where the differences among the communities lie. It could be argued that urban proximity and presence or absence of an economic base on the reserve may have major effects in determining Indian educational goals.

One of the most recurrent themes throughout the interviews is that of institutional control. At present, the situation is seen as unsatisfactory partly because Indians do not have sufficient control of education. This is partly because, in some areas, Indians do not seem prepared to take control when it is offered them. One interviewee believes that the Indian school committees for federal schools have as much control as they want, but they don't want to assume the responsibilities, since they haven't taken any initiative. However, another respondent points to the recent educational approaches "being developed by native people for the native people because they are frustrated and dissatisfied with the existing system.... Their recommendations have not found their way into on-going educational policy so native people have decided to develop their own programmes."

For others, the question of institutional control is not simply a matter of Indian takeover. These non-Indians perceive themselves as helpers to implement whatever recommendations Indians in a particular area may make. If these are not forthcoming, then it becomes a question of waiting rather than making changes on the basis of an interpretation of perceived Indian needs. "One is constantly trying to decide in the given situation how to help this person help himself. The easy thing to do is just to help him", suggests a respondent. The people must have control

and make changes as they wish. The decision must come from the people whether to maintain the existing system or to implement changes. The major contribution of non-Indian educators may be to help prepare Indian people to take this control.

The question of institutional control seems to be central to a discussion of Indian identity and to the question of mutual goals. With institutional control, Indians can then decide the types of schools they want, the appropriate age for leaving the reserve, the language(s) of instruction and the cultural content of the program - in other words, how much non-Indian influence should be exerted. This in turn will reflect the goals of Indian people, but it will then be their choice.

The consensus from the interviews with non-Indians is that the most desirable situation is "a two-way street", an exchange between Euro-Canadian and Indian cultures such that an Indian can then make a knowledgeable choice as to which way of life will suit him without losing his identity in the process. Some adaptation to the urban, non-Indian life-style is seen as inevitable but ideally the Indian can as one person observed, "come back knowing, able and competent to help his people."

The general impression gained from these interviews (with some exceptions) is that where Indian control has occurred (eg., Paint Hills, Six Nations) successful educational

programs are being developed. These include cultural content, native language of instruction, native teachers, and on-reserve schools. Thus, adult education programs and Indian studies programs in universities can provide resources for these developments; they become part of an overall pattern rather than fragments out of context of the whole Indian education question. What Indians want, and what non-Indians want Indians to want, may be two very different things, and until Indians are in a position to both confidently express and implement their ideas (through institutional control), the establishment of goals, mutual or otherwise, will be inhibited, and the retention of Indian identity will continue to be only a conflict-ridden possibility.

4. Education of Indians in Ontario

(a) Historical Context and Overview

As with status Indians in the rest of Canada, the federal Department of Indian Affairs has the responsibility for their education in the province of Ontario. Dr. G. L. McDiarmid (1969) of the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education (OISE) has traced the history of Indian education in this province up until 1969 and his report is quoted:

1784 saw the rudimentary beginnings of Indian education in Ontario. In 1785, Captain Joseph Brant arranged for a

school to be established at Grand River, with the teacher's salary to be paid by the Imperial Government for military offers. During a visit to England, Joseph Brant negotiated for another Indian school which opened in 1824. In 1830 the company for the propagation of the Gospel in New England (New England Company) began a manual training school at Mohawk Village on the Grand River; they made this partly residential in 1834.

In 1844, the total Parliamentary allotment for education was just over £500. This sum supported 4 teaching missionaries and allowed 2 schoolmasters to occupy 2 Government buildings. At this time, there were missionary or band supported schools in eight areas, which offered adult as well as child education. Books and teaching methods were the same as found in the common schools in Ontario.

Several years later the establishment of manual labour or industrial schools was recommended, to equip the Indians to become capable farmers or farm labourers,

as well as "to inculcate Christian values." These schools were to be run jointly by the Government and the religious organization in question. By 1859, 3 such schools had been established. Between 1874 and 1878, several more industrial schools were started.

The first report on Indian schools after Confederation showed 38 schools eligible to receive the Government grant. The majority of teachers were paid by the missionary societies of the Church of England and the Methodist Church but a few, chosen by the band, were approved by the Department and paid from band funds.

By 1885, there were 69 Indian schools. However, at Scugog, several Indian children attended public schools. Dictation, composition, drawing, and French were added to the day school curriculum at this time, and algebra, Euclid, and sometimes Greek and Latin, were included in the industrial school instruction. Between 1903 and 1905, five more residential schools were opened.

In 1911, there arose an emphasis on developing day schools in an attempt to make formal education more attractive to the students. In the same year, the Government raised the per capita grant to residential schools from \$72 to one varying between \$80 to \$100. In 1923, the Department constructed several new schools and improved others. It also raised the salary schedules for teachers.

In 1954 the government bought 8 residential schools.

2 at Kenora - 1 Presbyterian; 1 Roman
Catholic

2 at Sioux Look-Out - 1 Anglican;
1 Roman Catholic

1 at Fort Francis - Roman Catholic

1 at Sault Ste. Marie - Anglican

1 at Brantford - Anglican

1 at Moose Factory - Anglican

It assumed full support for the cost of operation of the schools even though they are still managed under the auspices of a religious denomination. The hostel staff is church appointed, the academic staff

is Government appointed, and the administrator is a joint appointment by the Branch and the Church. As of April 1, 1969, even the hostel staff are to be Government appointed civil servants.

Residential schools are now referred to as student Residences since in many cases they serve as hostels for pupils attending provincial schools. At Sioux Look-Out, the Roman Catholic School in Kenora, and in Fort Francis, half the students go out to provincial schools, while half attend Federal Indian Affairs Branch classrooms in a building beside their living quarters. In Brantford, all the children attend Federal classrooms which are situated next to the residence. The Roman Catholic school at Fort Albany remains the only existing Church-run residential school. Here children come from September to June from as far away as Fort Severn and Ogoki. Out of 275 children, 60 children live at home and commute to the school. The classrooms

in this school are Federal. For the past 15 years, therefore, there has been generally a shift to the use of residential schools as hostels and a gradual change from 100% Federal classrooms to complete integration into the provincial system.

There are no purely Government residential schools in Ontario.

In several instances the Indian Affairs Branch merely pays for services offered by a Church-owned institution. In Fort William, the Government gives a per capita grant for each Indian pupil living in a church-owned residence for Indian and non-Indian students; these Indian children attend city schools. Similarly, at isolated Poplar Hill, near the Manitoba border, the Branch again buys the services of a residential school which is operated by a religious denomination. The latter institution devotes its work largely to vocational training in an attempt to educate age-grade retarded children to equip them to go back to their reserve

capable of improving their living standards. The church completely owns and manages this school; Indian Affairs Branch does not even provide staff. The Branch also pays for the services given by the only Church Day Schools in Ontario which are located at North Spirit Lake near Sioux Look-Out. There are two one-room schools here, each having Grades 1 to 4. One is run by the Mennonites and one by the Roman Catholics. The teachers are hired directly by these missionary societies and are not under contract with the Government.

While once residential schools were primarily for children whose parents were migrant they are now receiving increasing numbers of children from broken homes since there are more and more day schools opening in isolated areas. Although the main reason in Northern areas for sending children to these residences is still largely because of the migratory patterns of their parents, a higher proportion are coming from broken homes than previously.

In the Southern regions nearly all Indian children attending student residences are from broken homes.

Presently, the supervision of Indian schools is carried out jointly by regional school inspectors of the Indian Affairs Branch and Provincial School Superintendents. Until approximately 10 years ago, the curriculum was split between farm and classroom instruction; the students are now studying, full time, the Ontario curriculum.

(b) Primary and Secondary Education

The present enrolment of status Indians in the province of Ontario is given in Table 14. The major features of the table are that one quarter of the population is in primary or secondary school, that just over half of these are in provincially operated schools, and that the number of those who have reached the top three grades is very small.

TABLE 14Enrolment of Status Indian Students in Ontario Schools:1970 - 1971

<u>Grade</u>	<u>Federal Schools</u>	<u>Provincial Schools</u>	<u>Total</u>
Kindergarten			
- 1	114	-	114
Kindergarten			
- 2	728	335	1063
1	1063	498	1561
2	912	426	1338
3	856	553	1409
4	755	519	1274
5	692	530	1222
6	728	552	1280
7	506	617	1123
8	271	562	833
9	5	1016	1021
10	-	741	741
11	-	356	356
12	-	276	276
13	-	54	54
Special	41	388	429
Total	6671	7423	14,094
% of Indian Students in Ontario	47.3	52.7	100.0
% of Status-Indian Population (14,094/55,545) = 25.4%			

The apparently high attrition is not an entirely accurate picture because of two factors: natural population increases and the gradually increasing proportion, over the years, actually entering the school system. The status-Indian population growth rate (3.4 per cent ten years ago and 2.8 per cent now) accounts for very little of the gulf between the numbers in early and later years. If we were to take the 54 presently in Grade 13 and calculate a 3 per cent per annum growth rate up the table to Grade 1, we would achieve only 77 persons in that grade. The assumption in doing this is that there has been a steady progression of these hypothetical students through the grades, with one grade equal to one calendar year. However, the large number accumulated in Grade 9 betrays this assumption. Nevertheless, if these students are older than the usual grade, this serves only to heighten the discrepancy between 77 and 1561. Thus, this first factor does not begin to account for the high apparent attrition.

The second factor is that the proportion of the six-year-old population entering Grade 1 was lower 13 to 15 years ago than it is now. We do not have the statistics showing how many started Grade 1 this long ago; however, we know that in 1962, 77 per cent of Canadian status-Indian children aged six entered Grade 1. Assuming this proportion is the same for Ontario, 1,246 (77 per cent of 1,619) children would have started school in that year,

which is only 300 less than those in Grade 1 this year. Eight years ago, over 1,200 students started Grade 1 and eight years later there are 833 students in Grade 8, a loss of 400 students. Assuming that only a few of this 1962 group advanced faster or slower than a normal rate (an assumption which is supported by the lack of extreme crowding in lower grades over and above the usual intake) we may conclude that there has been at least a one-third loss from this group, or an attrition rate of 33 per cent.

Returning to the present Grade 13 group (54), we may estimate that of the 34,000 status Indian students in elementary school in 1957 in Canada, about a quarter of them were in Ontario (8,500), and that at the very least 10 per cent of these were in Grade 1 (850). Taking these figures into account, there is a loss of about 800 students (out of 850) or 94 per cent. It is interesting to note that Ryan (in Hawthorn-Tremblay Report, Part 2) finds a 94 per cent loss from Grade 1 to Grade 12 in all of Canada, over the years 1951 to 1962. If the same reasoning is applied to the three highest grades, we estimate at least 2,500 students entering in 1957, 1958, and 1959, while only 686 remain, a loss of 73 per cent. And applying the same analytical procedure to the loss prior to secondary school (2,448 are in secondary school out of approximately 4,500 starters in years 1962 to 1966), we learn that the loss is 2,052 students or 46 per cent. The following table summarizes our estimates:

TABLE 15

Attrition Rates: Ontario Status Indian Students, (1957 - 1970)

<u>Grades</u>	<u>Years</u>	<u>Enrolment</u>		<u>Attrition</u>
		<u>Start</u>	<u>End</u>	
1 to 9, 10, 11, 12 & 13 (First year primary to first year high school)	1962 to 1970	4500	2448	46%
1 to 11, 12 & 13 (First year primary to last three years of high school)	1957- 58-59 to 1970	2500	1841	73%
1 to 13 (First year primary to last year of high school)	1957 to 1970	850	54	94%

The respective rates for non-Indians in Ontario (Pike, 1970, Table 2) are 6, 43, and 74 per cent. It need not be emphasized that if primary and secondary education is being held out, and is being accepted, as the path to a better life, the program has been a dismal failure.

The magnitude of the problem will increase in the coming years, even if only numerically. The table below traces the growth of the status-Indian population in Ontario and attempts some projections to 1975.

TABLE 16

Ontario Status Indians: Population, School Aged Population
(6 - 15 years) and Enrolment

<u>Year</u>	<u>Ontario Population</u>	<u>Ontario (6-15 years) Population</u>	<u>Total School Enrolment</u>
1959	42,668	11,294	
1960	43,770	11,677	
1961	44,942	12,017	
1962	46,172	12,427	
1963	47,831	12,876	
1964	48,465	13,374	
1965	51,364	13,822	
1966	52,475	14,368	
1967	51,731	14,605	
1968	52,981	15,042	
1969	54,071	15,483	
1970	55,545	15,928	14,094
1971	57,000 *	16,400 *	15,450 **
1972	58,600 *	16,950 *	16,200 **
1973	60,200 *	17,400 *	17,050 **
1974	61,900 *	18,000 *	17,800 **
1975	63,600 *	18,600 *	18,000 **

* projected at 2.8% per annum

** projected by Department of Indian Affairs

Five years from now there will be 3,000 more status-Indian students in Ontario than there are now, if the same attrition rates continue; the numbers could be much greater, of course, if student loss declines significantly in the higher grades. An optimistic estimate would see at least 80 per cent of the students now in Grades 4 to 8 continue, adding a further 2,000 to 3,000 students to the estimated 4,000 increase based on population growth alone. The province should thus be prepared for an increase of from 5,000 to 6,000 status Indian students or a total of about 20,000 by the year 1975.

The programs in which these students will find themselves should be open for question and mutual searching; it cannot be assumed, therefore, that mere expansion of conventional educational programs to service this increase in student numbers will satisfy the Indian population and their students in 1975.

(c) Post-Secondary Education

Innovative programs in Indian post-secondary education have already been described; many of these have been established in Ontario, notably at Trent University and at Nishnawbe Institute.

It should be apparent that changes which will be demanded by Indians are most likely to be heard at this level, since many students at these institutions have learned to deal

with non-Indian society and have begun to reaffirm their ethnic identity. It is also true, however, that many students at this level have become accepted by, and in return accept, non-Indian society and the language, values, and skills it possesses. It would not be unexpected, then, to find a diversity or even opposition among the views of post-secondary Indian students.

A summary of recent status-Indian enrolment in Ontario post-secondary institutions for 1968 to 1970 is provided in Table 17.

TABLE 17

Ontario Status Indian Post-Secondary Institutional Enrolment

<u>Year</u>	<u>University</u>	<u>Teacher Training</u>	<u>Nursing</u>	<u>Vocational</u>
1968-69	34	15	4	189
1969-70	74	3	10	212
1970-71	90	7	8	381

Although Indian enrolment has doubled in both university and formal vocational courses in two years, there is an essentially random fluctuation for teacher training and for nursing. With respect to university enrolment, 90 students for a population of 55,000 falls far below a non-Indian Ontario enrolment of 100,000 for a population of approximately 7,000,000 (1.6 per 1,000 versus 14 per 1,000). Further, although Ontario has almost one quarter of all status Indians,

it has had only 14, 23, and 21 per cent of all Canadian status-Indian university students in the last three years (35 of 189; 74 of 321; and 90 of 432); this is not a good record for a province which prides itself on a strong university system.

The subjects of study of these 90 students are indicated in Table 18. It is interesting to note that half (44 of 90) are taking natural science or engineering; this high proportion may reflect the higher number of males than females (approximately a ratio of 2 to 1) or it may reflect an awareness of traditionally culturally supported cognitive strengths (Berry, 1971).

TABLE 18

Ontario Status Indian University Enrolment:

Distribution by Subject of Study

<u>Subject</u>	<u>Number</u>
Engineering	24
Natural Sciences	20
Social Sciences	17
Arts	9
Theology	6
Physical Education	5
Indian Studies	4
Law	3
Commerce	2

Consistent with general trends in Canadian society, there has been a recent upsurge in on-the-job and retraining programs to supplement formal courses (some of these are run by the Department of Indian Affairs, and some by the Department of Manpower); Table 19 provides data on the number of status-Indian persons in these programs for the past three years; these data were gathered during a period of category changes and are not considered reliable.

TABLE 19

Ontario Status Indian Post-Secondary Course Attendance

<u>Year</u>	<u>Non-Formal Vocational</u>	<u>In-Service Training</u>
1968-69	371	129
1969-70	642	258
1970-71	638	628

In addition to these kinds of training, there are programs of basic adult education and professional courses; these are difficult to monitor statistically over the past few years because of the changes in the data categories. However, the most recent report (March 1971) for the Ontario Region of the Department of Indian Affairs lists 628 persons in upgrading, 379 in formal vocational, and 216 in special vocational courses, as well as 89 in university and 220 in professional courses. A further report from the Department (June 1971) for adult education shows the following numbers:

TABLE 20

Ontario Status Indian Enrolment in
Adult Education Courses (1971)

	<u>Adult Basic Education and Upgrading</u>	<u>Social Education and Other Services</u>	<u>Total</u>
Males	583	929	1512
Females	276	973	1249
Total	859	1902	2761
Cost to D.I.A.	\$9,356	\$54,117	\$63,473

The adult basic education programs include basic skills and literacy, while the social education programs include leadership and citizenship courses.

(d) Concluding Observations

The most striking fact to emerge from the statistical data is the very high attrition rate; most status Indians in Ontario never have a real chance to participate in post-secondary education of the prestige type (university, teacher training, and formal vocational courses). Rather, they take second place, and are asked, sometimes for the second time, to acquire basic skills, literacy, and industrial training. It is surely euphemistic to consider these latter courses as post-secondary when they are very often at the primary level of our school system; a cynical

observer might even call this phenomenon "recidivism" - a return to an institutional framework which made no impression the first time.

As we argued in the first section of this study, these rates are not to be attributed to cultural backwardness or personal inability on the part of the Indian people. They must be considered in terms of contact between culturally unique groups, and the resulting phenomena of acculturation proceeding among the less powerful ethnic group.

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APPENDIX A

During the course of the study, two papers were submitted with the understanding that they would be appended in full.

These are:

1. Union of Ontario Indians "Education of the Native Peoples of Ontario" 1971.
2. Castellano, M.B. "Submission to the Commission on Post-Secondary Education in Ontario" 1971.

EDUCATION OF THE NATIVE PEOPLES OF ONTARIO

Union of Ontario Indians

One in four of the status Indian people in Canada are in school. Of those 64,000 students, one in eight goes beyond Grade eight. In 1969-70, 236 were in university in this province. Of the 14,000 status children attending school, one-half are in federal schools and the other half are in provincial schools - only one out of two go beyond grade eight - most status Indian children have their foundation years of education in federal schools - more children each year are being placed in "off-reserve" schools as more "agreements" are made for "integrated schooling".

This brief factual outline does not include those native people of this province who are of native descent and for whom there are no statistics. It can only be hoped that they have enjoyed a better fate.

In the days of our grandfathers, education was from the father to the son to provide for the family, to read the tracks of the game, to survive within the environment provided by the great Spirit; the mother taught the daughter to care for her man and her family, to do the work in the village; the parents, with the old people, taught the children the ways of the people, the history, the legends, the ways of living.

Although in the treaties the government promised to supply schools and teachers, the simple fact is that the government did not assume general responsibility for Indian education until after the Second World War. Before that, the government believed that education was generally not necessary for Indians. The Government's attitude changed after the war and great advances have occurred. Nevertheless, the problems created by past omission and present failure to appreciate cultural differences are great. Today, as in the past, the education supplied to native people is not responsive to Indian culture and society. The schools have often represented an attempt to assimilate Indians. In self-defense, Indian communities have not supported these schools. Today, when many Indian communities could exercise local control over their schools, their children are being sent off the reserve to integrated schools.

Today, the education of the native child rests in the hands of professional teachers employed by the Department of Indian Affairs and through the Department of Education of this province. The simple request of the Indian people is for schools that serve their communities. Because of their special situation, Indian people ask for the following:

- A. Local control of schools. Native communities must be given a reasonable choice between reserve-based schools and adjacent provincial schools. (Note:

The Hawthorn Report accepted without question, the policy of integrated schools, in spite of its recognition of the great cross-cultural problems in these schools.) Integration is being blindly accepted, though we may simply be copying a fad in U.S. Indian education that is ten years old. A recent U.S. article noted, "During the 1950's, there was a strong push toward public school education for Indians. During the early 1960's, a shift away from the public school emphasis occurred, with a renewal of a Bureau of Indian Affairs thrust in Indian education." (Roessel, ISSUES IN INDIAN EDUCATION, 1970, Contemporary Indian Affairs, P. 18).

Integration need not be a one-way street always placing Indian students in a minority situation where their special needs can be overlooked. Quality schools are an asset in any community. Why should they exist in white communities but not on reserves? To assume that integration into non-Indian schools will always result in better education is to assume that the Indian majority schools will always be inferior. That is not simply a questionable proposition, it is a racist proposition. President Nixon has recently commended the idea of local control of schools, "consistent with our policy that the Indian community should have the right to take over the

control and operation of federally-funded programs, we believe that every Indian community wishing to do so, should be able to control its own Indian schools." This choice must be given to Indian communities in Canada!

In Ontario, local control of education raises specific questions about the northern areas. Indian high school students are transported from northern areas to various locations in southern Ontario. This has:

- a) proven highly unsatisfactory and the need for a native high school in the north to serve isolated communities is clear. This provides an excellent opportunity to create a native-oriented school to serve as a model for schools serving native people. (local control because of cross-cultural problems).
- b) Supplemental Programs - To compensate for the educationally-deprived character of Indian communities certain supplemental programs are necessary. Local pre-school classes should exist on all reserves. Special tutorial and counselling services should be available. Pre-university summer courses should be provided. Without a special program of educational supplements, we will continue to have high drop-out rates and high unemployment. The social costs of inferior education continue to grow.

- c) Curriculum in schools serving native people - it is now widely understood that the school system is culturally alien to native students. The aspect that is most blatant is the traditional exclusion of Indian language and Indian cultural and historical content from the curriculum. Though it is now widely recognized that this has been an error, the fault has not been overcome in fact. Only a few very experimental programs exist at the present and considerable evidence of bureaucratic stalling.
- d) An Indian Conference, Cultural and Educational Centre - To supplement an improved educational system, a special centre would be valuable. Here the task of preserving the languages, culture, and oral tradition could be undertaken. Here conferences of Indian leaders could be regularly held and records kept. Here various adult education courses could be offered. The centre could provide a focal point for the re-emergence of Indian pride and self-knowledge. The centre could play a central role in communications between Indian peoples and between non-Indian resource people and Indian people. The centre

could organize seminars and workshops to be held locally in all parts of Ontario. The centre would be a distinctive Indian-run, Indian-oriented institution. It could parallel the work of institutions like the Banff School of Fine Arts, the Navajo Community College, and the American Institute of Indian Art.

WHAT SHOULD AND WHAT CAN EDUCATION DO FOR THE NATIVE PEOPLES OF THIS PROVINCE FOR THE PEOPLES WHO ONCE PROVIDED COMPLETELY AND HAPPILY FOR THEMSELVES?

1. Education - Education is not the only key to a better tomorrow but it is a vital part of a total effort required to improve the lives of the native peoples. New schools, well equipped, well staffed, cannot alone combat lack of employment, poor housing, limited medical care, prejudice, lack of equality, a poor self-image - but must be a major part of a well co-ordinated and well-integrated attack on the ills facing the native peoples of this province, an attack which must be with and not for the people concerned.
2. An underlining factor missing from education is the need for the native peoples to be recognized as those who have a cultural identity, who belong to different nations (cree, ojibway, six nations, deleware , who are alike and who are different -

who have histories, who have a past, a present, and must have a future, who are not "just Indians". There is the need for the recognition of a history and a culture which belong to not just the native peoples, but belong to the people of this country - for this country, its history and its cultures began before 1492. Recognition for the cultural identity for each native person must be inherent in any educational program. This recognition must be evident in the classroom to help the child realize his own cultural identity, to grow in strength and security in his Indianness.

3. To be successful, education for native children must involve the parents of these children and those parents must have some responsibility for the education of their children. In some reserve communities, there are school committees, but the oldest have existed for only one generation of elementary school children - 16 years. School committees not only do not exist on every reserve but lack powers of authority and responsibility. This must be changed. If bands are to have self-administration

this must include education as well as roads, housing welfare and water. The degree of success of children in schools reflects the degree of involvement and the degree of responsibility of parents in the education of their children.

4. The teachers who work with Indian children should have the best of qualifications, should be ready and capable of change to meet the needs of the children relative to the child and his environment, must have knowledge and understanding of the community and of the people who are the community. Teachers should be oriented before they are sent into a native community. Any training given to teachers who are going into native communities must be such that it prepares them for these children. Teachers hired for native communities should be required to attend the new summer course given by the Ontario Department of Education for Teachers of Indian children. (Note: This course was given last year for the first time and 12 of the 49 teachers enrolled were going to teach in native communities in Ontario.) It would be preferable if the teachers were of

native descent but a good teacher will be accepted by children of any community if the teacher comes to help the child in his growth. Teachers going into native communities should be prepared to stay for two years if this is acceptable both to the teacher and the community. The people of the community should have involvement in the selection of the teachers who will be going into that community. The community must be prepared to welcome the teacher and to help her feel at home. Teachers often feel inadequate in a community where the culture is different. Because the teacher should understand the cultural differences, it is the responsibility of the community to help the teacher realize these differences.

5. The curriculum followed in any community includes the school, the programs, the texts, the courses, all that is needed and used to help a child to learn. The curriculum in a native community must be one of flexibility and relativity - it cannot be an urban non-native culture impressed on the child and his native culture.

The language of the classroom should be the language of the community. If the language of the community is a native language, then the child should start school in his own language and at a later date (age 8 or 9) should begin in English. This will encourage the child and leave with him positive memories when he is a young adult whereby he will be strengthened in his cultural identity. This means that the teacher should be fluent in the language of the community in which he will teach. There should be an opportunity in communities to encourage the learning to read and write in that native language, as well as the rediscovery by the young of their own language. This does not mean that English or French should not be taught but that English or French should not be taught at the expense of the native language of the children or of the community.

The printed matter in the classroom should be that which is relative and relevant to the people of this community. Books for the teaching of reading should be those which are meaningful to the children of an Indian community. The printed matter should include the use of both languages - the native and the English or French.

Items which should be included in the program include -

- a) Civics - the governmental processes of the community chief, council, band, band clerk, superintendent, as well as the civics of the province and the nation. Other items such as the Indian Act, the Treaty and Treaties which directly or indirectly fit the community should be known and understood.
- b) The geography of the local community and reserve should be a major item of study. The location of other native communities in the province and in Canada could form the basis of learning in which the child would learn to which nation the people of the communities belong. This would develop a link of knowledge and understanding of other groups, bands and nations.
- c) History should include the story of the people, of what reserve, of what band, of what nation.
- d) The culture should be taught in the school by the teacher and with the co-operation and help of the people of the community. This would include the native religions and art forms (dancing, chanting, drumming, crafts, painting, songs) and the value system of the people of that community.

- e) Human Relations should be taught whereby the child will learn of his and other native peoples, of white people, of the world beyond the native community.
6. Schools for elementary children should be at home in the native community. Small children should not be required to travel great distances to residential schools or to schools in an urban non-Indian community. The secondary schools in major centres should be prepared to receive the student coming more than should children be prepared to enter the high school. There should be involvement on the part of the secondary school staff with the housing and social accommodation of the student and not just with his academic role. There should be courses in Indian culture and language in secondary schools. Strong consideration should be given to the creation of a secondary school located in a native community to which native students may go and this secondary school would be equivalent to any secondary school in this province. This has never been tried but I would see no reasons why it should not be tried and with quality, would succeed. Serious thought should be given to the creation in this province of a cultural centre for native students whereby

they could attend and learn of their own culture by nation and by nations so that they could create a new expression based upon a knowledge and understanding of their inherited past. Urgent consideration must be given to providing educational opportunities to young adults who have dropped out of school and who wish to return; to older adults who want or need to upgrade their skills in reading, writing, mathematics, to the old people who wish to learn of the new and who wish to be of use in the teaching of the young. Those who return to education must be treated as adults and not as children.

7. The program called integration or joint school programs must be made into a program of bi-culturism at both the elementary and secondary schools whereby the native student finds within the school that which says, "it is good to be an Indian"; which permits him to choose the path along which he will develop as a person and as a student. This would include the teaching to non-native children of the culture of their native brothers and sisters. (An experiment in bi-cultural education is being

attempted in Kent County at the Howard-Harwich-Moravian school to which all of the grade 1-8 children of the Delaware reserve go.) Further signings of joint-school agreements and the transferring of more children to elementary schools of reserve communities must be stopped and a thorough study made of the programs involving native children. If these programs are found to be "one-way streets" containing no native culture, the children should be withdrawn to their home community unless positive and immediate steps are taken (the people of Tyendinaga are bringing their Grade 7 children home from Belleville). In a true integration or joint-school program, there should be a similar movement of non-native children into schools on reserve communities where this is geographically feasible. Often reservations are the geographical centre of a sizeable school population.

8. Some suggestions to be considered by each native community: and those concerned:
 1. There should be only one school on each community and children of both the Protestant and Roman Catholic faiths should attend.

2. Teachers should be chosen on the basis of qualifications and abilities and not religious domination.
3. That each community be prepared to offer to the school the help and services of the community so that the children and the teacher will learn the culture of their community.
4. That an Education Committee be struck to work with individual communities, with regions, with the Dept. of Indian Affairs, with the Ontario Department of Education, with the teacher foundations:
 - to deal with educational matters and to learn of the views of the native people of the province;
 - to help this organization further represent and be the voice of the native people of the province;
 - to help collect permanent records of the history legends, stories, songs, on tape (both visual and sound) in that native tongue and in English and French.

A SUBMISSION TO THE COMMISSION ON POST-SECONDARY
EDUCATION IN ONTARIO

by

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In 1970 Sir Sandford Flemming Community College commissioned a study to explore the question of whether Indians resident in the Peterborough area have effective access to services offered through the College. The specific goals of the project were:

1. to assess the degree to which Indians in the four counties served are familiar with the facilities of Sir Sandford Fleming College and to determine whether significant patterns of current Indian usage exist;
2. to explore the question of whether educational needs exist in local Indian settlements which could appropriately be met within the framework of Sir Sandford Flemming College;

3. to advise as to the most effective means of delivering College services to Indian people in the area.

The method of investigation was interviewing, carried out principally by the author, assisted by residents of the communities under study. The following information and conclusions are drawn from the data collected in 220 interviews, represented a response from 67 per cent of the over-16 population resident on three reserves in the Peterborough area. The sample includes a cross-section of age and occupational groups in each of the communities.

Population Under Study

The most striking characteristic of the communities studied was the diversity which exists even within such a narrowly defined geographic region. The variety of economic pursuits engaged in by residents, the standards of living, and the degree of acculturation to non-Indian society, evident between one reserve and another and between one social stratum and another on a single reserve, makes generalizations about Indian education hazardous.

The second striking feature of the population under study was its youthfulness. Of 611 Indians resident on the three reserves, 42 per cent were 16 and under and when the 17 to 25 age group was included, the proportion of residents which could clearly be considered youthful

rose to 59 per cent. With so many reserve residents still in the process of acquiring social and vocational skills it is evident that access to formal education is now and will continue to be a major factor shaping the future of these communities.

Successive generations of residents have had longer contact with formal education, but this longer contact has not necessarily resulted in better vocational adjustment or a more positive self-image. Respondents approaching retirement age often looked back with satisfaction at a rewarding life of work and family responsibility, explaining that despite the fact that they had little formal education they had been able to make a good life for themselves. On the other hand, 20-year old respondents were encountered who talked as if school had convinced them that they were incapable of learning and they were at a dead end in vocational and economic terms.

Current Patterns of Indian Usage of Sir Sandford
Fleming College

An examination of College records of student registrations and separations at Sir Sandford Fleming College since its inception in 1967 to August 1970, revealed 40 registrants who gave as their address, local Indian reserves. Of these, five were in the post-secondary program and 35 in the Retraining Division. Because of the diversity in age,

educational background, and cultural orientation within this group of 40 students, the data available did not provide a valid basis for statistical comparisons. However, despite the singularity of each student, comments made by College personnel suggested that Indian students were perceived as an identifiable group and that their presence in the College had had sufficient impact to provoke a negative evaluation of their performance among at least some members of staff.

While the registrants in the post-secondary program were almost equally divided between male and female, male registrants in the Retraining Division outnumbered the female registrants six to one, suggesting that female reserve residents, once they drop out of school are less likely to pursue further education. 63 per cent of the registrants in the Retraining Division were in the 17 to 25 age group, suggesting that retraining was most often a continuation of interrupted education rather than retraining for persons who had been in the job market for some time.

An examination of course completions achieved by the 40 students revealed that roughly 50 per cent of the registrants were successful in completing a course of study of some duration, the finition including a single grade of academic upgrading. In the post-secondary division both of the young women registrants completed

their course of study, while all three of the young men discontinued theirs. In the Retraining Division, all three of the girls in the 17 to 25 age group completed a course, while boys in the same age group discontinued their courses more often than the average. Even with the limited numbers involved, it was evident that students from the most acculturated reserve in the study population were most likely to complete a course of study undertaken. The completion rate in the orientation program, pre-apprentice carpentry, academic upgrading, both elementary and secondary, did not vary significantly from the average established by the entire group, while single registrants in four courses all completed their courses successfully. This implies that in contrast to the most popular course choices, when a particular course was chosen with reference to the individual's interests and skills, the likelihood of completing the course was high. The other significant variation from the average was the fact that five of the six registrants in industrial trades, including electrical apprenticeship, machine shop and welding, discontinued their courses before completion. Since the factors bearing negatively on student performance in other courses still permitted a completion rate higher than 50 per cent, the question

arises whether the qualifications or the motivation of students registered in industrial trades training functioned as a deterrent to successful completion of the courses.

The contact of most Indian students attending Sir Sandford Fleming College Retraining Division was brief. Of the 21 students completing a course of study, three were in attendance for less than a month, completing orientation only; 14 students were in attendance for less than five months and the remaining four were in attendance for less than 12 months. Even including the experience of the five post-secondary students the inference which might be drawn is that Sir Sandford Fleming College has so far had a marginal role in the educational experience of Indian residents of local Reserves, confined to short, work-oriented courses or limited upgrading. The results of such training might be to increase slightly a graduate's employability and to clarify, as often as not, what a student does not want.

Aspirations Identified

In the communities under study respondents at all age levels voiced recognition that formal education is a major means of acquiring the skills to further participation in the social and economic life of non-Indian society. Generally, strength of motivation to acquire the skills

of non-Indian society varied inversely with the age of the respondent, while an individual's success in realizing his educational and vocational aspirations varied directly with the degree of acculturation to middle-class white society prevailing in his community and his family. Even in an area which is relatively well-served by transportation and communication facilities, it was evident that substantial numbers of reserve residents are hindered from using current educational facilities effectively. In the following sections some of the factors bearing upon Indian access to education are detailed.

Social and Physical Distance

Education in Indian communities has tended to recreate the pattern of usage which exists in white society; it is a means whereby the rich get richer and the poor get poorer. Indian students coming from affluent homes, experienced in relations with non-Indians, and skilled in verbal communication, adapt to the demands of formal education with comparative ease, while those who start from a base of poverty and traditional Indian modes of social intercourse labour under handicaps which the financial support of the Indian Affairs Branch does little to dispel. The social and economic stratification which exists on southern Ontario Reserves makes the frequently heard generalizations about "good" adaptable Indians and "bad" intractable ones entirely inappropriate.

A number of students who withdrew from Sir Sandford Fleming College before completing their course of study gave as their reason for doing so the lack of transportation from their home community and the breakdown of transportation arrangements was a cause of early withdrawals by students from all three reserves under study. However, this explanation begs the question of why the students did not make the alternative arrangement of living in the city during the period of study.

Some former students spoke of the difficulty of making satisfactory boarding arrangements in the city and others apparently abandoned their study plans without exploring this possibility. Two students, both from families with marginal income, reported that they had experimented with boarding in the city and had abandoned this arrangement in favour of commuting.

From the experiences reported it might be inferred that those persons with least access to transportation to overcome the problem of physical distance from the College also suffer the strongest sense of disorientation when removed from their home environment. For these students, the alternative of urban residence has usually proven unsuitable to their needs. Since the seriousness of this handicap for Indians appears to decrease as the individual's background and attitudes approach the middle class norm,

it is likely that similar problems of physical access are encountered by non-Indians in the lower strata of rural communities.

Factors which made residence in the city tolerable or, rarely, enjoyable, for respondents were: close associates from the home Reserve engaged in study at the same time; transfer of the family unit to the city; shared living arrangements with friends made at the college.

The Phenomenon of Shyness

Shyness was cited by respondents with some frequency as their biggest personal problem or the chief obstacle to continuing education. In other cases it was identified by the interviewers as a characteristic displayed in the interview. It might best be described as painful self-consciousness experienced by an individual in situations where he is uncertain that he can make appropriate responses. Since the problem arises chiefly with persons and situations outside of the Indian community, it is usually a product of perceived discontinuity between the individual's spontaneous responses and the demands of the situation. It is based on the assumption that the external expectations have more authority than the internal instincts. It substitutes non-participation for response, and, because non-participation is viewed by white society as a symptom of personal inadequacy, the experience of being shy further undermines the individual's self-assurance.

Shyness was cited or observed as a problem among residents of all three reserves, but most frequently among the 17 to 25 age group on the most isolated reserve. This is the generation which has been exhorted to "join the mainstream of Canadian society". They have adopted the language, the dress, and many of the aspirations of the dominant society; but, the easy, spontaneous participation which they sought has still eluded them.

The manifestations of shyness encountered during the field study were varied. There was a young man who hid in the family kitchen to avoid talking to the researcher, though he later spoke to an assistant about his interest in retraining. There was a girl who had to leave Toronto when she became too nervous to face people at her door. There was a young man who felt uncomfortable in school because his instructors demanded that he answer "out loud" and another who reported that before he had command of language to express himself he just kept silent.

If shyness is a result of excessive efforts to adapt to a set of standards foreign to the individual, it follows that the cure for the problem is to be found in counter-emphasis on natural or spontaneous patterns of behaviour. Attempts at remedial education which repeat the emphasis on adjustment and fail to take account of the identity of the students are not likely to be effective

among youthful Indians who have demonstrated their choice of reserve residence that they cannot or will not pay the price being exacted for participation in the affluent and articulate world outside.

The Return to the Reserve

Residents who need improved access to culturally relevant education represent only one element in the population of reserves in the Peterborough area. In all of the communities studied there are individuals and families who have made an accommodation to the demands of participating in two cultures. There are others to whom the reserve represents home but whose Indian identity is little more than a memory of the sense of separateness they once experienced.

While education policies followed by the Indian Affairs Branch seem designed to prepare Indian youth for moving off the reserve, the housing program is having an opposite impact. A revolving fund for interest free loans has recently been made available to reserve residents who wish to improve their housing. Having long been denied access to homebuilding loans, Indians on all the reserves in the study are participating in a housing boom, giving a new face to their communities. Attracted by the possibility of enjoying the amenities of modern living in a community where authentic social relationships and extended families

still survive, resourceful young people in increasing numbers are opting for homes on the reserves. Frequently they bring to the community skills acquired through formal education as well as experience in dealing with the conflict between cultures. The contrast created by their presence is likely to intensify the frustration of those who feel themselves excluded from the good life. These talented young people constitute, therefore, a stimulus to the acculturation of younger generations and a resource for developing programs to reduce the disparity of opportunity which now exists between one segment of reserve society and another.

Multiple Registrations

A dramatic example of the difference in perspective between College personnel and Indian students was found in the incongruous descriptions they gave of repeated registrations at the College by particular students. In a discussion of means by which Indian students found their way to the College, a staff member stated that apparently there was no pre-enrolment screening done because certain Indian students followed a pattern of registering, dropping out before completion of their course, and later re-applying for admission. The College acceded to the request of the Indian Affairs Branch to readmit them but the clear implication of the staff member's statements was that this was an inappropriate use of facilities.

In a field interview, a former student, who might well have been the subject of the staff member's remarks, reported that he had enrolled in academic upgrading but he was unable to see the relevance of the curriculum content to the goals he had. He had difficulty applying himself to study and dropped out of the course. Forced by unemployment to seek means of obtaining work, he returned to the College and successfully completed a short, work-oriented course which did not require upgrading. In subsequent months, he found employment using the skills acquired, and his College experience, plus work experience in a semi-skilled capacity, helped him to identify a specific vocational interest. At the time of the interview he was hoping to gain admission to the College for the third time to raise the level of competence he had begun to develop.

A similar pattern of groping for a satisfactory vocational role by trying out various possibilities was reported by several other young men. They might have been compensating for their lack of background knowledge by investing themselves in a series of experiments. At least some of the respondents rejected the view prevalent in society and at Sir Sandford Fleming College that an incomplete educational experience is a failure. They indicated rather that they saw an educational experience, complete or not, as a stage in the discovery of their own

potential. That they are willing to tolerate the tacit disapproval of the Indian Affairs Branch which sponsors them and the educational institutions which train them, is evidence of the strength of their determination to find a role which is in accord with their personal sense of propriety. Even if society is reluctant to subsidize such integrity, it is difficult to assign to these young men the opprobrious term "Dropout".

Limitations of Counselling

Counselling has been used at two stages of the educational process to offset disabilities such as this study has identified. It has been used first to acquaint students with the range of choices available to them so that they can formulate a rational plan, and second, to deal with problems which arise in the execution of the plan. Neither of these functions has been useful to Indians suffering handicaps in their attempts to use educational resources.

A number of times respondents in the study were asked how they came to enrol in a course of study which was unsuited to their needs. The replies suggested that courses were often chosen by chance. Students and their families reported that they were advised to take certain uncongenial courses by school personnel whom they could not identify; students chose occupational courses because they did not plan to spend more than two years in high

school; the forms brought home had no meaning for parents or children and choices were made without knowing where they would lead, often on the basis of the children's feelings; students were advised against courses which would limit their vocational choices but they did not comprehend the significance of this advice until they left school and sought employment.

From these responses it would appear that pre-enrolment guidance is effective only with those students whose experience has prepared them to formulate some goals and comprehend the meaning of the advice given. It also seems likely that the life goals held by students who are deeply rooted in Indian culture differ significantly from the goals held by non-Indian students. Presentations of fact and future prospects which excite the imagination of non-Indian students do not necessarily tap the same motivations and elicit the same response from Indians.

The efforts of a counsellor to develop awareness and appreciation of the cultural background and values of Indian students might broaden the range of his effectiveness in counselling, but it is doubtful that it would solve the communication problem. Perhaps, at this point in time, learning by experience, costly though it may be is the only workable means for some Indians to achieve the orientation which is a prerequisite for establishing clear vocational goals. As some students have demonstrated, trial

and error need not be a destructive experience if the value of the procedure is recognized by the experimenter and accepted by others who are involved.

In the area of pre-vocational counselling the segregation of counselling services for Indians who are out of school serves to screen out advice and information available from agencies other than the Indian Affairs Branch. Except for those highly mobile Indians who are well-oriented to the conventions of white society and who can seek out counselling if they need it, there tends to be some vagueness among Reserve residents as to their eligibility for various programs. This is compounded on some reserves by the practice followed by the Manpower office of referring applicants for retraining to the Band administration and the Indian Affairs Branch representative for clearance. The impression created is that the Indian Affairs Branch must be the point of reference for all students planning to return to the stream of education.

A major obstacle to Indian students' use of counselling to overcome problems encountered in the course of study arises from the underlying assumption that the goal of counselling is to help the student adapt to the demands of the institution. The means employed to extend help are primarily verbal and therefore can only operate if the student is able to verbalize his difficulties. For a student who is paralysed by an overwhelming awareness of

the necessity of adjusting, the counselling situation, even with a skilled and sensitive counsellor, intensifies rather than relieves the problem. Further, since doubts about his verbal skill are an integral part of his problem, the expectation that the Indian student should communicate his need in a direct verbal exchange is unrealistic in the extreme.

A service which offered effective support would, ideally, create a means of reinforcing the identity of the Indian student in the foreign and threatening environment, would offer practical help in alleviating the problems of arranging physical attendance, and would avoid focusing attention of the student's particular manifestation of stress.

Community College Service to Rural Communities

The results of the study raise the question of how an urban-based Community College can effectively respond to the faintly articulated needs of the rural poor. For those persons who manifest the characteristics usually associated with the subculture of poverty in the midst of affluence, i.e., antipathy toward formal schooling, low estimate of their abilities, few verbal skills, apathy, and limited mobility, present methods of offering services are not effective. They screen out individuals regardless of their ethnic origin. Particularly in Indian communities which are highly integrated with the surrounding district, the

needs of disadvantaged groups on the reserve should be considered in conjunction with the needs of persons suffering similar disadvantage in the surrounding rural area.

Another gap in service which was revealed by the study was the paucity of sources of information and counselling available to adults who have lost contact with their former educational sources but who, by virtue of their employability, have little knowledge of counselling available at Manpower Centres. Responses in interviews suggest that if such adults had improved access to information about educational opportunities and how these applied to their personal circumstances they would make better use of currently available resources for continuing education.

Indian Students in the City

Information available about the experience of students registering in the post-secondary program at Sir Sandford Fleming College suggests that even those Indian students who have successfully completed a four-year program in secondary school experience stress in moving from the reserve to an urban environment. For students who have dropped out of school at the elementary level or in the early years of high school, and who are attempting to raise their level of training, the adjustment to College and urban living is substantially greater. Since

association with other Indians has been reported as a significant source of support for students moving to the city, and since finding suitable living accommodation was reported as a source of added stress, an institution seeking ways to serve Indian students should explore means of encouraging association of Indian students with one another and of developing living arrangements either in communal groups or with urban Indian families.

The Need for a Transitional Learning Experience

An Indian community in which the rapidity of social change has created a gap between skill levels and aspirations is fertile ground for a continuing education program. Any program, to be useful, should incorporate innovations in content and structure to overcome the accumulation of negative experience with education and the obstacles which hinder effective use of currently existing programs.

The goals of an Indian community education program would be: to offset past negative experience in an authoritarian setting which frequently has frustrated the personal goals of Indian students; to develop skills in language and learning techniques which would facilitate students' return to a regular educational structure; and through improved communication, give effective access to information regarding educational and vocational choices available to reserve residents.

Reserve residents who participated in this study recognized that it is not feasible to consider duplication of complex and costly educational facilities for a narrowly limited population. They further recognized that upgrading of their academic qualifications would be necessary to realize most of the aspirations which they expressed. There was widespread recognition that improving their language skill is a fundamental requirement. Most of the men interviewed identified education with training for employment and community education should visibly further their goal of improving their employment prospects. Women participating in the study functioned in the traditional feminine role and they made it clear that they would balk at undertaking anything which they perceived as being in conflict with their homemaking responsibilities. To gain their interest, a community education program should build on, but not be restricted to, home-related skills.

Since many of the breadwinners in the families under study engaged in seasonal employment, finances must be a major concern of many of those who expressed interest in continuing education. The stress created by reduced income would be felt most keenly by these persons who have the strongest motivation to participate in the housing program, or, in other respects, raise their standard of living. A learning program which failed to take into

account the economic facts would undoubtedly be assigned lower priority than activities which had economic value. Student subsidies, through the Indian Affairs Branch or the Department of Manpower and Immigration should therefore be considered an important part of any community education program.

Since the objectives of community education go beyond the simple transfer of conventional curriculum to a new location, material relevant to the cultural background and life experience of the Indian residents should be offered. Channels for direct and continuous feedback regarding the effectiveness of the program should be established to seek to remedy the communication problems which have seriously hindered the participation of local Indian students in the regular college program.

Because of the rapidity with which acculturation is proceeding on southern Ontario Reserves and because of the consequent dislocation suffered particularly by Indian youth, there is an urgent need to create transitional educational structures which can be adapted to the reserve environment, utilize Indian personnel, and have built in provision for regular evaluation to ensure that they remain responsive to changing conditions and can be phased out when their purpose has been accomplished.

APPENDIX B

During the early stages of the research for this Report, it was agreed that a review and commentary on the draft Report would be provided by Professors Harvey McCue and Walter Currie of the Indian-Eskimo Studies Programme at Trent University. This review is appended in full.

REVIEW OF DRAFT REPORT

by Harvey McCue
with Walter Currie

Since Confederation and the British North America Act, the uninformed public of Canada, in addition to the "informed" civil servants, the people's representatives and those segments of the Canadian public who might think of themselves as "being in the know", have attributed the responsibility of the education of the native population to the Federal government. Indeed, a casual reading of chapter 149 of the B.N.A. would reveal several sections, ten in all (sections 113 through 122 inclusive) which suggest support for this point of view. Ranging in detail from the construction of Indian schools and their equipment (sections 113 and 114) to the question of attendance and absenteeism (section 116) to the denomination of a teacher of an Indian school (section 119), the pertinent sections do, in fact, demonstrate the overwhelming responsibility that the Federal government has in the education of the native people of Canada.

Unfortunately, the actions of previous administrations have been regrettably poor in fulfilling these constitutional obligations. In fact, their action can best be regarded as non-action. The main characteristic of past Federal administrations has been their willingness to transfer the responsibility of native education to other organizations and groups. (It cannot be said, however, that the federal

administrators have shirked any fiscal responsibilities. While capital expenditures for education have never been immense the Federal administrators have budgeted for such items as the construction of school buildings, payment of teachers' wages, and the purchase of educational supplies; in other word, the material responsibilities have been met by the Federal government.) Thus, in line with the policy of transferring responsibilities, for a rather long period of time the churches figured significantly in the education of Canadian Indians. And as the authors of this report suggest the responsibility of education is now being transferred to the existing provincial systems. All of this is happening during a time when the prevailing "official" attitude holds that the responsibility for the education of the Canadian Indian is vested in the Federal government in Ottawa.

In light of the prevailing official attitude, the absence of any post-elementary institutions in native communities is difficult to explain. If Federal administrators have been unwilling or unable to adequately carry out what appear to be constitutional obligations then it would seem to be self-evident that a definite policy would be necessary, particularly in such a critical and sensitive area as education, before any significant action could be taken by either Federal or Provincial levels of administration. However, it is

obvious that the official policy of all Federal administrations with respect to post-secondary school education has been to transfer the total responsibility to the existing provincial systems of education. And all of this during a time when the provinces and their education departments maintained their distance from native communities because of jurisdictional arguments regarding federal-provincial responsibilities.

At no time in the history of Canada has the federal administration exercised any responsibility or effectively played a role other than a fiscal one in the secondary or post-secondary education, particularly university education of native people. Insofar as providing opportunities for post-secondary education is concerned, the response of federal administrators has been to provide a bus ticket and money for expenses.

This writer does take exception to the remarks included in the report which are quoted from a speech by A.G. Leslie and which are used to describe the policy of assistance which the Indian Affairs Branch uses in their treatment of native students who seek post-secondary school educational opportunities. While it is true that there exists in the I.A.B. a policy to assist students, particularly those who are entering or continuing a university programme of studies, in some aspects of their financial need, it must be pointed out that the spirit and

the sense of generosity which the programme implies is all too often lost in its application. It is regrettable fact that even though officials of the Indian Affairs Branch have stated on numerous public occasions that financial assistance is readily available to any status or registered Indian student seeking a university education, students must submit to an unpublicized means test. To gain assistance individual students put themselves at the mercy of regional superintendants of education in the I.A.B. who create and impose their own idiosyncratic means test, (there is no evidence that a formal means test exists or even that the I.A.B. in Ottawa is aware that such tests take place. This is little comfort to those students who have had to submit to one in order to gain what many see as being a right guaranteed by treaty). Thus, it is entirely possible to have an application for assistance for a university programme of studies rejected by a member of the Branch. The difficulty with the system of assistance (which when applied properly is excellent) lies in autonomy which is enjoyed by the local or regional offices. It is in these regional offices where individuals free from any official guideline enjoy an autonomy which can easily be abused at the expense of native students. It is no less comforting to realize that there have been many occasions where such abuse has been demonstrated.

It would not be overstating the case to discuss what amounts to the behind-the-scenes role of the provinces in the educational development of their native populations. Their role has been greater perhaps than most people would realize, certainly, I feel, it is more extensive than existing provincial departments would care to admit. It is a fact that since the creation of the Federal or "Indian" schools, such important items of the education process as curriculum, choice of texts, evaluation and grading of students have been the responsibilities of the provincial departments of education, especially in the Federal schools.

It is in these crucial areas of education that the public have demanded some control in the determination and allotment of educational policies. Through the creation of school boards and the election of trustees, the general public can be confident that responsibilities are being shared between themselves and provincial authorities in the education of their children. In spite of this, Provincial departments of education have had the power to administer the educational needs of native children free from any control or criticism of native parents. At no time have the Provinces extended to Indians what many people regard as inalienable rights of the citizenry of this country, namely the right to create and sit on school boards.

It is evident, then, that apart from meeting financial obligations, Federal administrations have relinquished the responsibility of educating Canadian native people to the provincial authorities. And these authorities have relied on an interpretation of the B.N.A. to justify their indifference to any questions concerning education and the native peoples. . In pointing this out it is not the intention of this writer to use this opportunity to criticize the present Federal administration or the bureaucracy of the Indian Affairs Branch for what is obviously resounding neglect and an abdication of constitutional obligations, but rather, to demonstrate the importance of including provincial educational systems and their departments in any discussion concerning the education of native people, from primary school level to post-secondary school opportunities.

While it is true that the B.N.A. has been used to exempt provincial administrations from any direct implication in native education, one important criterion of the educational process has always been the responsibility of the provinces, namely, the education of teachers, a most important point which also belies the neglect that Provincial administrations have shown in their relationship to the native people. It is impossible to sidestep this issue which demonstrates the impact which provincial systems have had on the educational development of native students. The

distance which the Provinces have seen fit to maintain between the Federal government and themselves on the business of Indian education is shocking and no less so when one considers the attitude of unconcern Provinces have shown towards their native population.

Thus, while it is possible to argue that native education is a jurisdictional area defined by constitutional responsibilities, it is morally irresponsible for provincial administrations to continue their historical unconcern and neglect in the area of native education. The resounding failure of native participation in all phases of the educational system must be shared by both Federal and Provincial levels of governments; the time to recognize this fact is long overdue and continuation to overlook it will only result in first, despair, and secondly, anger by an ever-increasing native population.

By allotting considerable length in this evaluation to a discussion of Federal-Provincial jurisdiction in native education, this writer has sought to convince the Wright Commission on Post-Secondary School Opportunities that the lack of concern which was implied in the solicitation of information on post-secondary school opportunities for the native population of Ontario is morally reprehensible and in view of the evidence, a dereliction of their stated aims on behalf of the government which they represent.

As the authors of this report have pointed out, to talk of post-secondary school opportunities for the native people of Ontario is to talk of the entire provincial educational system from pre-school to the post-secondary level. Since post-secondary school opportunities are the subject of the Commission's inquiry, I will try to restrict most of my comments to that area although I trust that the Commission will not lightly disregard the opening remarks.

Institutions and programmes for post-secondary school opportunities have been and still are culturally and geographically distant from the native individual and his community. While it is difficult and dangerous to generalize, nonetheless, it is not uncommon for a considerable number of native students in seeking secondary school opportunities and occasionally for elementary school instruction to attend a school as far away as 300 miles from their home communities and kinfolk. The profound anxiety which is displayed by both the students and their families because of this cultural, social, and familial displacement leads to an inevitable, although understandable, choice on the part of some students to discontinue their post-secondary school education. It must be stated here that this absence is felt in more than just emotional terms for it is an absence which is manifested in an alien culture bereft of any linguistic cultural or recreational values of the native student.

As the authors of this report indicate in table 15 on page 176, there are few native people enrolled in post-secondary institutions in Ontario. The absence of native people participating in these areas of the educational system is significant in reinforcing both the cultural and the geographic distance between the programmes and the students. In the former, the absence of persons from whom an individual can seek advice or knowledge about programmes can and will effectively inhibit individuals from attending. In most non-Indian communities in Ontario a non-Indian is able to locate an individual be they family or acquaintance who can offer or provide information about post-secondary school opportunities.

Finding such an individual may be an invaluable part of deciding whether or not one should attend a post-secondary school institution, be it a university or a community college. Native individuals with first-hand face-to-face experience with post-secondary school institutions are few and far between and the inquisitive native student is forced to make a decision with little or no "friendly" advice. For these reasons the distance between a post-secondary school institution and a native community may seem even greater than it already is. No real relationship exists between educational institutions and native communities. This gulf is culturally significant and it will effectively prevent many individuals from taking advantage of post-secondary

school opportunities. A cultural attribute of approximately 80% of the native people in Ontario, a sense of comfort and a degree of familiarity are essential for an individual to effectively cope with new and strange structures or individuals. This cultural attribute and its effect on the behaviour of native people is demonstrated in a more dramatic and tragic area, that of medicine. It is often argued that poor medical attention and the lack of proper medical services are the main reasons for the poor medical standards that occur amongst individuals in their native communities. It is true that these are features of the health care of native people but another reason is significant in this discussion, namely the absence of individuals with whom the native population can identify to allay their fears about attending a health clinic or seeking qualified medical attention for proper health care. Thus the presence of native aides, particularly as nursing aides or medical assistants, would contribute significantly in overcoming the fear which prevents people from seeking proper medical attention except in those cases where extreme human suffering can no longer be endured.

While it is true that some progress has been made to encourage people to enroll in nurse's aides courses, it is imperative that the importance of such aides be recognized by the authorities so that new methods can be developed to insure that everything is done to actively attract and

encourage native people to participate in these types of post-secondary school opportunities. Post-secondary school programmes are needed but it is not enough to create such programmes and expect native people to participate in them. Identifying in what areas programmes are needed, deciding on where they will be located, and even determining enrolment standards, are some criteria which must be considered by educators in consultation with native communities. For instance it is of no value whatsoever to the native community to have a programme such as a nurse's aide course with rigorous entrance requirements that prevent a sufficient number of native people from taking it. Consultation must occur so that special needs can be identified. I have used a programme of nurse's aides as an example of how important a post-secondary school programme could be for the survival and development of native communities. This is just one programme which could flourish along with many others providing that the criteria, some which I pointed out, were taken into serious account in the planning of post-secondary school programmes.

Insofar as university education and the accessibility of a university education for native people, this writer takes great exception to a recent interest displayed by Ontario colleges and universities to establish Indian studies programmes and departments as a possible means of increasing

native student participation. Concern is being expressed by some native people of Ontario that the potential proliferation of such programmes may occur without consultation with or commitment to the native population in this or any other province. Indeed, as well as these concerns, the vast financial expenditure of public monies through the duplication of curricula, the availability and subsequent harmful competition for native and non-native faculty, and the availability of the native student population must also be considered very carefully in these discussions.

It would be irresponsible for the Ontario educational authorities to overlook these issues which are related to the development of Indian study programmes. Through fiscal and legislative support of just a few programmes, the provincial educational authorities can provide for the healthy development of Indian-oriented departments or programmes of Canadian Indian studies.

This writer does not propose to critically evaluate or add any personal remarks to the specific descriptions which the authors of this report include in their presentation of the dilemma in which the native people in their desire to seek education find themselves. This is done not as an admission that the authors in their descriptions and analysis are faultless but rather in agreement with the overall

tenor of their report, namely that to speak of native people and post-secondary school opportunities, one must first consider the whole educational system from pre-school to post-secondary school, the educational philosophy and how it affects the native people. This can only be done with the cooperation and help of the native people of this province. To insure that a truly native-oriented representation of the aspirations of the people as well as a presentation of the facts as they relate to education now and in the past, one cannot emphasize too strongly the need for native people to carry out such a task.

